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Byzantines, Latins, and Turks in the Eastern Mediterranean World after 1150

Edited By

JONATHAN HARRIS, CATHERINE HOLMES,
AND EUGENIA RUSSELL

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Abbreviations

AB	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
AHR	<i>American Historical Review</i>
ANES	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Studies</i> (formerly <i>Abr-Nahrain</i> , Centre for Classics and Archaeology, University of Melbourne)
ANSMN	<i>American Numismatic Society Museum Notes</i>
AP	<i>Archeion Pontou</i> (<i>Επιτροπή Ποντιακών Μελετών</i>)
ARAM	ARAM (Society for Syro-Mesopotamian Studies, University of Oxford)
ASG	Archivio di Stato di Genova
Assaph	<i>Assaph: Studies in Art History</i> (Department of Art History, University of Tel-Aviv, 1998– .)
B	<i>Byzantion</i>
Belleten	<i>Belleten: Turkish Historical Society Review</i>
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
BHG	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica</i>
BMFD	<i>Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments</i> , ed. J. Thomas and A. Constantinides Hero, 5 vols. (Washington, DC, 2000)
BMGS	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
BF	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CFHB	<i>Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae</i>
CSHB	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae</i>
DOC	<i>Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection</i> , 5 vols. (Washington, DC, 1966– .)
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
EEBS	<i>Epeteris Etaireias Byzantinon Spoudon</i>
EHB	A. E. Laiou (ed.), <i>The Economic History of Byzantium from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century</i> , 3 vols. (Washington, DC, 2002)
EI	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , 2nd edn., 12 vols. (Leiden, 1960–2006)
EJOS	<i>Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies</i>
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
JOAS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>

JÖB	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
MGH SS	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historiae, Scriptores</i>
NC	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
OCP	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
ODB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i>
PBW	<i>Prosopography of the Byzantine World</i> (www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk)
PG	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne
PLP	<i>Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit</i> , ed. E. Trapp et al., 15 vols. (Vienna, 1976–96)
PO	<i>Patrologia Orientalis</i>
RA	<i>Revue archéologique</i>
REB	<i>Revue des études byzantines</i>
RESEE	<i>Revue des études sud-est européennes</i>
RN	<i>Revue numismatique</i>
ROC	<i>Revue de l'Orient Chrétien</i>
TB	<i>Tirant lo Blanc</i> , ed. M. de Riquer, Les millors obres de la literatura catalana, 99–100 (Barcelona, 1985)
TIB	<i>Tabulae Imperii Byzantini</i>
TM	<i>Travaux et Mémoires</i>
TRHS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
ZRVI	<i>Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta</i>

Manuscripts

Barb.	Barberini, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome
Burney	British Library, London
Coislin	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
Laur.	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana
Par.	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
Vat.	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

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Note about Transliteration

Greek names and place-names are transliterated with *k* and *os*, except in cases where a Latinate or Anglicized version is very familiar. Turkish place- and personal names follow current Turkish usage. We have endeavoured to be consistent in our rendering of transliterations from Cyrillic and Arabic. Diacritics have for the most part been omitted for personal names, place-names, and the titles of medieval literary works in Arabic, but have been retained for some technical terms.

Introduction

Catherine Holmes

The late medieval eastern Mediterranean was a region typified by political, religious, social, economic, and cultural complexity. It is not the purpose of this volume to represent and explain every dimension of that complexity. Instead our aim is to uncover some important unifying themes which can help to make sense of the region's highly fragmented and fluid polities, economies, and societies, and which may allow us to speak with confidence about the late medieval eastern Mediterranean as a coherent field of historical inquiry. We hope that by identifying unities amid disunity we can begin to construct a framework within which current and future research into the region as a whole and into its component parts can be conducted. But before explaining what these unities are and how our own research leads us to them, we need to offer some background to the region's complexities and fluidities especially at the level of political authority. We also need to consider the preoccupations of the lively but rather diffuse recent historiography of the region.

1. HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Until the middle of the twelfth century, the eastern Mediterranean was still a region dominated by two powerful unitary states. Its northern reaches were under the control of the Byzantine emperors, who governed a largely Orthodox Christian population of Greek- and Slav-speakers from their capital city Constantinople. To the south lay the Fatimid caliphate with its own centre of government in Cairo. While the caliph and his family were Shii Muslims, the Fatimids ruled over a heterogeneous population of Sunni Muslims, Christians, and Jews. Sandwiched between these two great regional super-powers were a series of somewhat smaller states, each of which had come into being as a result of the arrival of a series of invaders from east and west during the previous century. The consequence of invasion by Turks from the east in the

eleventh century was several polities governed by Sunni Muslims. By the mid-twelfth century these polities included the sultanate of Rum with its main centre at Konya in Anatolia as well as the Zengid regime based in Damascus. Each of these relatively new Muslim regimes represented the western fringe of a loose confederation of dynastic warlords whose cultural and political centre of gravity lay much further east in Seljuk Iraq and Iran. Meanwhile, as far as movement from the west was concerned, the events of the First Crusade (1095–9) had led to the establishment of a series of Christian states governed by Latin rulers, including the kingdom of Jerusalem and the principality of Antioch. These Christian states were known to Latin contemporaries as ‘Outremer’. There were many agents who helped to build up a Latin presence in the eastern Mediterranean, among them the Venetians, Genoese, and Pisans, whose trading activities across the region as a whole increased substantially during the twelfth century. Meanwhile, although Latins from western Europe dominated the government and the economy within Outremer itself, it is important to remember that they were minority groups within polities which were characterized by large subject populations of Muslims and various eastern Christian denominations. And, indeed, the religious complexity typical of this ‘sandwich’ region was enhanced by the presence of Armenian Cilicia in southern Anatolia, where eastern Christians were not merely among the governed but also the governors.

Thus, the arrival of new rulers and settlers in the eastern Mediterranean in the century before 1160 led to important changes in the distribution of power and resources between rulers and ruled in Anatolia as well as within the coastal regions and hinterlands of modern-day Syria, Lebanon, and Israel. Many of the political, economic, and social changes which came to characterize the history of the entire eastern Mediterranean world over the next three centuries have their roots in processes and structures which began to evolve in these ‘sandwich’ regions during the twelfth century. However, it is important to stress that despite these changes the eastern Mediterranean world was dominated until the final third of the twelfth century, as it had been for the previous two hundred years, by regimes which governed from Constantinople and Cairo.

This situation changed dramatically after 1169 with the collapse of the regimes in Byzantium and Fatimid Egypt. In the case of the Fatimids, their power was overthrown in the first instance in 1169 by Saladin, a Kurdish warlord originally in the service of the Zengid rulers of Syria. Although Saladin proved able to bring some unity to much of Egypt and Syria during his own lifetime, aided by his conquest of the city of Jerusalem from the Latins in 1187, after his death in 1193 the coherence of his government proved illusory. None of his heirs was able to focus power on their own person alone with the result that Saladin’s dynasty, the Ayyubids, ruled the region in long-standing Seljuk tradition as a confederacy of family members and semi-autonomous warlords.

Further north the fragmentation of Byzantine power in the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries was even more striking. This unravelling began after 1180, following the death of the emperor Manuel I Komnenos, as provinces long governed by Constantinople began to slip away from imperial control into the hands of new regimes. The gradual detachment of Cyprus from centralized imperial authority during the 1180s and the island's eventual conquest by the Latins in 1191 are particularly famous instances of these processes of change. Other areas which had already detached from Constantinopolitan control by 1200 and passed into the hands of local rulers included Bulgaria and parts of Serbia. More dramatic, however, was the complete dismemberment of the remaining Byzantine provinces after 1204 when Constantinople was seized by the armies of the Fourth Crusade.

Although historians have been unable to reach consensus over whether the destruction of Byzantium had been a long-term ambition of the Latins, the result of 1204 was the division of the empire among a series of new rulers.¹ Some of these 'new' rulers, such as the Latin emperor of Constantinople (see Shawcross in this volume) and the Villehardouin princes of the Morea (Peloponnese), were complete newcomers to the region. Others, such as the Venetians and the Montferrat rulers of Thessaloniki, were new in the sense that they now enjoyed their first experience of direct lordship over regions previously governed by Byzantium. However, it is worth remembering that many of these apparently 'new' holders of power already had considerable experience of the region's political, social, and economic landscape, either through the development in the eleventh and twelfth centuries of their trading interests (in the case of Venice) or through pre-existing political ties with Byzantium and the Latin regimes in Outremer (in the case of the Montferrat). Meanwhile, there were among the 'new' rulers of erstwhile Byzantine provinces, regimes which had even more well-established connections with Byzantium. These were the so-called Byzantine 'successor' regimes headed up by a series of great aristocratic families who fled Constantinople in 1204. Although the establishment of these Byzantine successor states in the decades after 1204 was immensely complex, scholarly attention usually comes to rest on the three which lasted the longest: Trebizond in north-east Anatolia; Epiros in northern Greece; and, most significantly of all, Nicaea in western Anatolia.² It was the

¹ On the difficulties involved in discerning cause and motive see M. Angold, *The Fourth Crusade* (Harlow, 2003), esp. chs. 1–4; see also J. Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades* (London, 2003), pp. xiii–xvii.

² Among foundational works into these three polities are: D. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros* (Oxford, 1957) and *The Despotate of Epiros, 1267–1479* (Cambridge, 1984); M. Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile* (Oxford, 1975); A. Bryer, *The Empire of Trebizond and the Pontos* (London, 1980); A. Savvides, *The History of the Empire of Trebizond* (St Petersburg, 2007). For short recent surveys see M. Angold, 'Byzantium in Exile', in D. Abulafia (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, v (Cambridge, 1999), 543–68; idem, 'After the Fourth

so-called 'empire' of Nicaea, by this point under the rule of the Palaiologos family, which managed to wrest Constantinople from the Latin emperor and the Venetians in 1261, with the assistance of the Genoese. In the process the Palaiologoi established a regime which consciously promoted itself as a restoration of Byzantium (see Shepard in this volume).

In some ways one could argue that following more than seventy years of upheaval, the 'restoration' of Byzantium in Constantinople under the Palaiologoi represented one small part of a more general restabilization of the entire late medieval eastern Mediterranean region in the mid-thirteenth century. For not only had some sort of Byzantium been re-established in Constantinople by 1261, but a new authority of great military effectiveness was by this point also enforcing its power in Egypt and beginning to extend its reach into neighbouring regions, especially over what remained of Latin Outremer and Muslim Syria. This regime, known as the Mamluks, drew its military manpower not from Egypt itself but from the Eurasian steppe, especially from the region near the Lower Don and the Sea of Azov. In 1260 the Mamluks famously defeated the Mongols, pagan invaders from the eastern Asian steppes, at the battle of Ayn Jalut in Syria. In the same year they secured Damascus. By the end of the decade the Mamluks were moving against Christian-controlled territory in the Levant. In 1268 Antioch was taken. A little over two decades later, in 1291, the Mamluks captured Acre, the last Latin outpost on the mainland of Outremer.

Nonetheless, it would be too simple to assume that the consolidation of power by the Mamluks and the Palaiologoi in the mid- to late thirteenth century represented the restoration of the early twelfth-century world of Byzantine and Fatimid bipolar regional hegemony. Instead, the immense changes of the later twelfth century and the first half of the thirteenth century left a political, economic, and cultural landscape which continued to be characterized by plurality, fluidity, and fragmentation. For instance, although the Mongols had been defeated by the Mamluks at Ayn Jalut, their absorption of much of the Seljuk world in the 1250s, their eventual conversion to Islam, and their consolidation of power in Iran under the Ilkhanids had a radical impact on the organization of political life in the eastern Mediterranean world. This was most notable among the Turks, Armenians, and Byzantines of Anatolia, where Christian and Muslim rulers alike were competitors and satellites within a Ilkhanid-dominated political culture. It was within this kaleidoscope of competitors in Asia Minor that the Ottomans first appeared in the early fourteenth century (see Kastritsis in this volume). Meanwhile, further north in the steppes of Russia, another powerful Mongol group, some

of whose members were converts to Islam, also exercised indirect influence over the politics and diplomacy of the eastern Mediterranean, partly through their alliances with the Mamluks of Egypt. This grouping is often known as the Golden Horde.

But it was not only in the shadow of Mongol authority that power remained fragmented. This was true elsewhere too. The Byzantium of the Palaiologoi consistently faced rival Byzantine 'successor regimes' in Epiros and Trebizond, as well as challenges from the rulers of Serbia and Bulgaria, several of whom called themselves 'emperor'. Meanwhile, Latin authority in mainland Greece, the Peloponnese, the Aegean islands, and Cyprus proved subject to frequent realignments. Here, established Latin rulers jostled with newcomers from western Europe, especially those with links to Iberia, France, or the Italian city states, such as Venice and Genoa. But competition for land and resources in what had once been a single unitary Byzantine state was fierce, involving not only different Latin lords but Byzantines, Serbs, and Bulgarians too. By the mid-fourteenth century this was a competition in which the Ottomans of northern Anatolia were also becoming an important player.

The result of a climate of political competition was a world in which frontiers were in an almost constant state of flux. The relatively clear distinctions between centre, province, and periphery which typified Byzantine and Fatimid rule in the tenth to twelfth centuries clearly broke down in the later medieval centuries. Constantinople and Cairo both faced substantial challenges from other centres. In the Byzantine sphere these included political nodes such as Arta in Epiros, Nicaea and Nymphaion in western Anatolia, and Trebizond in eastern Anatolia. In addition, there were charismatic religious centres, including Mount Athos, home to monastic communities from across the Orthodox world. The monastery of St Catherine at Mount Sinai was a similar site, although this was a magnet not only for Orthodox pilgrims and patronage but also for Latin Christians too (see Holmes in this volume). Within areas under Islamic control, the Mamluks worked hard to promote the authority of Cairo. They continued to foster Jerusalem as a charismatic centre for Muslims, in this way copying Saladin's activities when he conquered the city from the Latins in 1187 (see Irwin in this volume). But Cairo and Jerusalem were not the only cities to develop substantial politico-religious infrastructures during this period. Nur al-Din, ruler of mid-twelfth-century Syria, Saladin, and the later Ayyubids all invested very substantially in the built and devotional culture of Damascus and Aleppo, as did the Seljuks of Rum at Konya in Anatolia.³ During the fourteenth century as Ottoman power expanded, Bursa in north-western Anatolia became an important centre, to be followed later by Edirne (Adrianople) in the Balkans,

³ C. Hillenbrand, *The Crusades* (Edinburgh, 1999), 116–250; Y. Tabbaa, *Constructions of Power and Piety in Medieval Aleppo* (University Park, Pa., 1997).

and later still by Constantinople. Many of the centres mentioned above were also economic hubs. Other important commercial centres included Thessalonica in Greece, Alexandria in Egypt, Famagusta in Cyprus, and Acre in Outremer. With many commercial centres came many merchants, most obviously those with affiliations to Venice and Genoa, but also others from the western and central Mediterranean including Catalans and Provençals, as well as Greek, Muslim, and Jewish traders from the eastern Mediterranean zone itself.

In some ways, of course, one could argue that the essentially fragmentary and multi-centred picture that we are presenting of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was obsolescent by the later fourteenth century, and completely outdated by the early sixteenth, because of the gradual consolidation of Ottoman hegemony throughout the eastern Mediterranean world. This hardening of Ottoman power can be charted through a series of totemic dates: the defeat of the Serbs at the battle of Kosovo in 1389; the conquest of Constantinople in 1453; the annexation of Mamluk Egypt in 1517. Yet, even in the final century of this late medieval period, the Ottomans did not go unchallenged. Extension of their power was briefly halted when the forces of Tamerlane (Timur) invaded Anatolia from central Asia and defeated the Ottomans at Ankara in 1402. And, even after 1517, some regions remained outside Ottoman control, including the substantial islands of Crete and Cyprus, both governed by Venice. The eastern Mediterranean also remained a commercial melting pot deep into the sixteenth century. Moreover, the growth of Ottoman power during the late medieval and on into the early modern periods occurred amidst and in symbiotic relationship with a plurality of other political units and traditions (see Kastritsis in this volume).

Plurality and regular change were, therefore, consistent characteristics of the eastern Mediterranean region throughout the later Middle Ages. These defining features are apparent even if we only look at the most notable and long-lasting of late medieval political and commercial powers: the Byzantines of Constantinople, the Mamluks of Egypt, the Venetians, the Genoese, the Villehardouin princes of the Morea, the Serbs, the Bulgarians, and latterly the Ottomans. Yet, even this relatively extensive regional *dramatis personae* does not fully represent the fragmentation and multiplicity of units of political and economic power which typified the region. Some regimes and dynasties lasted throughout our period; others were present for the early decades but then evaporated, as in the case of the early thirteenth-century Latin rulers of Thessalonica. Meanwhile, others could suddenly conjure themselves up from apparently nowhere, as with the Ottomans in early fourteenth-century Anatolia (see Kastritsis in this volume), or, in a somewhat later period, the Gattilusio of Lesbos (see Wright in this volume). Another element which adds to the general picture of fragmentation and complexity are the many

lesser, localized, but often very wealthy political agents who lived in symbiosis with the more significant regimes, and upon whom those more significant regimes were often dependent (see Harris and Wright in this volume). This category of the lesser and the localized contains a vast heterogeneity of actors: lay aristocratic landowners, wealthy urban families, merchant communities, monasteries, sufi lodges, as well as more transitory powers such as roving bands of mercenaries, of whom the well-documented Catalan Company of the early fourteenth century is a particularly famous example (see Abulafia in this volume).⁴ Furthermore, the complexity of relations within this rather kaleidoscopic world becomes even more pronounced once we recognize the degree to which many rulers in the eastern Mediterranean governed populations whose ethnic and religious backgrounds were quite different to their own. To take one example: even in Cyprus, an area where Latin rule was established at the very start of our period and which was tied very closely into the trading patterns of the Venetians and Genoese (see Jacoby in this volume), the island's subject population remained principally Greek-speaking and Orthodox throughout the later medieval period. Meanwhile, in urban areas of Cyprus other non-Latin groups were also well represented including Armenians, Muslims, and Jews.⁵

2. HISTORIOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

Scholarly research into many aspects of the late medieval eastern Mediterranean is currently buoyant. In the case of Byzantium, research was catalysed by the 2004 Metropolitan Museum exhibition 'Byzantium. Faith and Power' (New York).⁶ Similar developments have occurred for the early Ottoman

⁴ R. D. Hughes (tr.) and J. Hillgarth (intro.), *The Catalan Expedition to the East* (Woodbridge, 2006); A. Lowe, *The Catalan Vengeance* (London, 1972); K. M. Setton, *The Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311–1388* (London, 1975). For Ottoman and Navarrese mercenary activities in the 15th-cent. Peloponnese see N. Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins* (Cambridge, 2009), 287.

⁵ C. Schabel, 'Religion', in A. Nicolaou-Konnari and C. Schabel (eds.) *Cyprus: Society and Culture 1191–1374* (Leiden, 2005), 162–70.

⁶ H. C. Evans (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and Power* (New York, 2004); S. Brooks (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and Power* (New Haven and London, 2006). Interest in late Byzantium was a marked feature of the papers delivered at the 2006 International Congress of Byzantine Studies: F. Haarer, E. Jeffreys (and J. Gilliland) (eds.), *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies* (Aldershot, 2006). Other important studies of the later Byzantine centuries published in the last decade include: A. Eastmond, *Art and Identity in Thirteenth-Century Byzantium* (Aldershot, 2004); D. G. Angelov, *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium, 1204–1330* (Cambridge, 2007); idem (ed.), *Church and Society in Late Byzantium* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 2009); Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between Ottomans and Latins*. In addition, the works of several late Byzantine authors have become more accessible through new edns.,

world, where another international exhibition 'The Turks. Journey of a Thousand Years (600–1600)' (London, 2005) acted as a focus of scholarly and popular interest.⁷ The wealth of documentary evidence available for unravelling the commercial interests of the Venetians and Genoese means that research into this field is perennially strong.⁸ Archaeological inquiry, especially into rural fortifications, continues to shape assessment of the activities of other Latin rulers and settlers, especially in Greece.⁹ Crusading remains a lively topic.¹⁰ The Mamluks are a burgeoning field of inquiry.¹¹ Meanwhile, the encounter of incomers to the region with indigenous peoples during the twelfth to fifteenth centuries is another area in which modern scholarship is

translations, and commentaries. These include Michael Choniates, *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae*, ed. F. Kolovou, CFHB 41 (Berlin, 2001); Demetrios Chomatenos, *Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata Diaphora*, ed. G. Prinzing, CFHB 38 (Berlin, 2002); R. Macrides, *George Akropolites: The History* (Oxford, 2007).

⁷ H. İnalcık and D. Quataert (eds.), *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914* (Cambridge, 1997); K. Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade in the Early Ottoman State* (Cambridge, 1999); eadem (ed.), *The Ottomans and the Sea* (Rome, 2001); eadem (ed.), *Byzantium to Turkey, 1071–1453: The Cambridge History of Turkey*, i (Cambridge, 2006); S. Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History* (Cambridge, 1999); eadem, *Subjects of the Sultan* (London, 2000); eadem, *The Ottoman Empire and the World around it* (London, 2004); C. Imber, *The Ottoman Empire 1300–1650* (Basingstoke, 2002); C. Imber and K. Kiyotaki, *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies* (London, 2005); H. W. Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State* (New York, 2003); D. Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid* (Leiden, 2007).

⁸ On Venice's interests in the eastern Mediterranean see S. McKee, *Uncommon Dominion* (Philadelphia, 2000); M. Greene, *A Shared World* (Princeton, 2000); M. Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies* (Cambridge, 2001); see also D. Howard, *Venice and the East* (New Haven, 2000). David Jacoby remains very active in the field of Italian commercial activities in the eastern Mediterranean, above all with reference to Venice (see the bibliography of Jacoby's article in this volume for further details). Michel Balard continues to produce material on Genoese interests in the east, building on his formative studies of the 1970s and 1980s: *La Romanie génoise (XII^e-début du XV^e siècle)* (Rome, 1978); idem, *La Mer Noire et la Romanie génoise: XIII^e-XV^e siècles* (London, 1989); see n. 7 above for Kate Fleet's work on Genoese commercial activity and also her contribution to this vol.

⁹ P. Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500* (London, 1995); P. Lock and G. D. R. Sanders (eds.), *The Archaeology of Medieval Greece* (Oxford, 1996).

¹⁰ The crusade in the late medieval eastern Mediterranean has been covered by recent general works on crusading: N. Housley, *Crusading and Warfare in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Aldershot, 2001); idem, *Religious Warfare in Europe, 1400–1536* (Oxford, 2002); idem (ed.), *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century: Message and Impact* (Basingstoke, 2004); C. Tyerman, *God's War* (London, 2006); see also Tyerman's contribution to this vol. The production of a specialist journal, *Crusades*, has also galvanized scholarship in the late medieval area including in the eastern Mediterranean. On the Hospitallers see A. Luttrell, *The Hospitaller State on Rhodes and its Western Provinces 1306–1462* (Aldershot, 1999). New translations of primary sources are also opening up this period from a crusading perspective: D. S. Richards, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir from the Crusading Period* (Aldershot, 2006–8); P. Jackson, *The Seventh Crusade, 1244–1254* (Aldershot, 2009).

¹¹ U. Vermeulen, et al. (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras* (Louvain, 1995–2010); T. Philipp and U. Haarmann (eds.), *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society* (Cambridge, 1998); A. D. Stewart, *The Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluks* (Leiden, 2001); J. Van Steenbergen, *Order out of Chaos* (Leiden, 2006). Mamluk studies has also had its own specialist journal since 1997, *Mamluk Studies Review*.

thriving. Particularly intense has been the study of the Venetian conquest and settlement of Crete, an island governed until 1207 by the Byzantines which then continued to be home to a large Greek-speaking and Orthodox Christian population. Research is also flourishing in other areas of Latin-Greek encounter including the Morea (Peloponnese) and Cyprus.¹²

Whether one reads recent scholarship devoted to the Byzantines, Ottomans, and Italians, or looks at the emerging historiography of 'encounter' in the late medieval eastern Mediterranean world, one is immediately struck by the degree to which so much of this new literature is underpinned by an awareness of the importance of fragmentation, plurality, hybridity, and interconnectedness. Scholars are increasingly uneasy about writing the history of the late medieval eastern Mediterranean from the standpoint of traditional monolithic narratives: the decline and fall of Byzantium; the rise of the Ottomans; the expansion of Italian trading interests; the waxing and waning of crusading. Instead, even where it adopts a single-polity or single-people focus much of the new literature recognizes that the eastern Mediterranean world of the later Middle Ages was typified by a diversity of polities, cultures, ethnicities, religions, and political traditions, all of which were engaged in complex processes of assimilation, competition, and rejection.¹³ Yet, despite the recognition in most, if not all, quarters that the backdrop to political, economic, and cultural life was so variegated, more difficult has been the task of working out how exactly historians should present such a plural, complex, and fragmentary picture both to each other and to wider audiences.¹⁴

This is not to suggest that there has been a lack of research into the relations between the huge variety of individuals and communities who peopled the late medieval eastern Mediterranean. Quite the contrary, for in

¹² C. Gasparis, *Land and Peasants in Medieval Crete, 13th–14th Centuries* (Athens, 1997) [in Greek with Eng. summary]; McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*; Greene, *Shared World*; Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*; in the case of Cyprus, see N. Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1195–1312* (Aldershot, 1997); A. Nicolaou-Konnari and C. Schabel (eds.), *Cyprus* (Leiden, 2005); on the Peloponnese, see T. Shawcross, *The Chronicle of Morea* (Oxford, 2009); S. Gerstel, 'Art and Identity in the Medieval Morea', in A. E. Laiou (ed.), *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World* (Washington, DC, 2001), 263–85; also of significance is M. Greene (ed.), *Minorities in the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton, 2005).

¹³ See e.g. Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between Ottomans and Latins*, a very recent study of late Byzantium which assesses three different regions (Constantinople, Thessalonica, and the Peloponnese) within the broader context of relations with Latins and Ottomans. Important in the context of contacts between Byzantium and the Turks are M. Balivet, *Romanie byzantine et pays de Rûm turc* (Istanbul, 1994); idem, *Byzantins et Ottomans* (Istanbul, 1999).

¹⁴ For a very recent discussion of this problem, particularly with regard to Byzantium in the post-1204 context, see J. Herrin and G. Saint-Guillain (eds.), *Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204* (Aldershot, 2011), 3–4, 303–14 (comments by C. Rouché, J. Herrin, and C. Holmes). This collection of studies appeared very shortly before our own compilation went to press.

recent years there has been a superabundance of collections of articles concerned with the encounter of different peoples and traditions within this region. But, while the individual articles in such collections tend to elucidate a particular aspect of the meeting of different cultures in one particular micro-region, there is only rarely an attempt within these collaborative volumes to present a broader picture of how the eastern Mediterranean region as a whole experienced multicultural engagement. Indeed, the fact that most of these volumes are prefaced by introductions of little more than two to three pages is indicative of the problems that historians face in making general sense out of highly localized studies.¹⁵ Moreover, even those more extensive single-author monograph studies that deal most directly with the question of encounter tend to focus on single localities, making relatively little reference to comparative cases elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean. Where such monographs do make wider comparisons it is usually with studies of the same micro-region in *other* periods or with debates about the formation of modern national identities.¹⁶

Thus, despite a great deal of new and exciting writing about the eastern Mediterranean world in the later Middle Ages, this region and this period can seem somewhat impenetrable to all but the most expert of scholars. Meanwhile, the region seems to attract relatively little attention from scholars of other late medieval and early modern societies who *ought* to find the processes of fragmentation, decentralization, accommodation, and competition stimulating from a comparative perspective. In this sense it is important to register how extensive has been interest in the theme of 'encounter' among medieval historians studying other geographical contexts, especially among those who work on frontiers or 'frontier societies'. This 'encounter' focus has been particularly strong among scholars who look at multi-

¹⁵ K. Ciggaar and H. Teulec (eds.), *East and West in the Crusader States* (Louvain and Paris, 1999–2003); A. Laiou and R. Mottatadeh (eds.), *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World* (Washington, DC, 2001); A. Maltezou and P. Schreiner (eds.), *Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco (XIII–XV secolo)* (Venice, 2002); J. O. Rosenqvist (ed.), *Interaction and Isolation in Late Byzantine Culture* (Uppsala, 2004); A. Laiou (ed.), *Urbs Capta = La IV^e croisade et ses conséquences* (Paris, 2005); G. Ortalli et al. (eds.), *Quarta Crociata: Venezia—Bisanzio—Impero Latino* (Venice, 2006); to this list one can add yet more articles on the late medieval eastern Mediterranean within more general collections on the Mediterranean as a whole: e.g. B. Arbel (ed.), *Intercultural Contacts in the Medieval Mediterranean World* (London, 1996); M. Balard and A. Ducellier (eds.), *Migrations et diasporas méditerranéennes (X^e–XVI^e siècles)* (Paris, 2002). Three recent collaborative publications which pay more attention to the need to explain intercultural exchange in the late medieval eastern Mediterranean in a more explicit and coherent fashion are Brooks (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and Power*; A. D. Beihammer, et al. (eds.), *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000–1500* (Leiden, 2008); Herrin and Saint-Guillain (eds.), *Identities and Allegiances*, esp. at 303–7.

¹⁶ e.g. McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*; Greene, *Shared World*; Konnari-Nicolaou and Schabel, *Cyprus*.

confessional cultures in the medieval Mediterranean world, especially in Iberia and Sicily.¹⁷ Yet, there has been relatively little conversation between specialists in these western and central Mediterranean contexts and those with eastern Mediterranean interests, despite the fact that scholars across the whole Mediterranean world deal with societies which were characterized by the meeting of Christian and Muslim populations as well as by the presence of substantial minorities, most notably Jews.

However, there are good reasons for suggesting that the eastern Mediterranean world in the later medieval period need not be cut off from the medieval historical mainstream. Twenty years ago a collection of essays was published which provided an exceptionally lucid introduction to the eastern Mediterranean world. It managed to convey the region's complexity in a scholarly manner that was accessible to non-specialists and specialists alike. That volume was *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean World after 1204*, edited by Benjamin Arbel, Bernard Hamilton and David Jacoby (London, 1989). The volume's principal focus was on the fate of the Byzantine Aegean world in the centuries after the Fourth Crusade. Different articles offered an overview of a series of core issues: change and continuity among elites and the general populace within Latin-controlled territories; the experience of areas which remained under Byzantine power; the Frankish nobility on Cyprus; the Genoese; and developments within the Latin and Orthodox churches. And, while the main interest of the volume was with Latins and Greeks, some space was given to non-Christians, most notably the Mongols but also to the Arabs and the Anatolian Turkish emirates, including the early Ottomans. Taken together the papers in the 1989 volume continue to serve as an excellent introduction not only to the essential 'who's who' of the late medieval eastern Mediterranean world but also to key social, political, and commercial structures and processes.

¹⁷ Formative studies in the field of frontier studies include R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe* (London, 1993); D. Abulafia and N. Berend (eds.), *Medieval Frontiers* (Cambridge, 2002). The greatest amount of scholarship has been dedicated to medieval Iberia, not least by R. Burns in his many studies of the mixed populations of the 13th- and 14th-cent. Crown of Aragon: e.g. Burns, *Islam under the Crusaders* (Princeton, 1973); idem, *Muslims, Christians and Jews in the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia* (Cambridge, 1984); see also R. Collins and A. Goodman (eds.), *Medieval Spain* (Basingstoke, 2002); B. A. Catlos, *The Victors and the Vanquished* (Cambridge, 2004); M. Meyerson, *Jews in an Iberian Frontier Kingdom* (Leiden, 2004); K. A. Miller, *Guardians of Islam* (New York, 2008). For Sicily see W. Tronzo, *The Cultures of his Kingdom* (Princeton, 1997); J. Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily* (Cambridge, 2002); A. Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians in Norman Sicily* (London, 2003); idem, *The Muslims of Medieval Italy* (Edinburgh, 2009). Many of the 'encounter' themes of interest to scholars of the late medieval eastern Mediterranean are explored in a more modern and global context in C. Bayly's highly influential study *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780–1914* (Oxford, 2004).

3. PURPOSE

This current volume does not seek to emulate *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean World* although it certainly has strong connections with it, not least in the fact that two of the contributors to that volume also appear here (Jacoby and Irwin). The catalyst to this book was a conference held in Oxford in 2005: 'Unities and Disunities in the Late Medieval Eastern Mediterranean World'. Some of the chapters included here are much-expanded versions of papers given at that conference; others were commissioned later. In both cases, the editors encouraged contributors from Byzantine, Islamic, and western medieval studies to take their own local, complex, and fragmented specialisms as departure points, but then to locate them in the kinds of wider contexts which can open up an understanding of the late medieval eastern Mediterranean world as a whole. The result is a collection of papers that offers an understanding of the region based on research interests which have emerged in the twenty years since *Latins and Greeks* was compiled, especially developments in the study of multicultural encounter and identity formation.

Clearly there are differences in focus between this volume and that of 1989. Here more attention is devoted to the Islamic world including the Ayyubids and Seljuks (Georganteli), the Mamluks (Irwin and Fleet), and the Ottomans (Georganteli, Fleet, and especially Kastritsis). Considerable space is given to the theory and practice of Crusade (Tyerman). More room is also given to the construction of legitimacy and representations of power within multicultural contexts by a variety of political regimes, both newcomers to the region such as the Latin Empire of Constantinople (Shawcross), the Ottomans (Kastritsis), and the Gattilusio of Lesbos (Wright), but also more apparently 'traditional' hegemonies such as the Byzantines of post-1261 Constantinople (Shepard). Considerable attention is paid to visual evidence (Georganteli, Shepard, and Wright) and to the extensive practices of cultural borrowing apparent both within the material as well as the written record. Greater emphasis is also placed on the everyday experience of religion (Irwin and Holmes). In contrast, less attention has been paid in this volume than in 1989 to change and continuity within formal institutional structures, including at the religious level but also in the realms of taxation, law, and land tenure.¹⁸

Yet, for all of the differences in emphasis between this volume and the 1989 collection, there are some striking similarities, not least in the degree to which several of the chapters in that earlier volume were already actively engaged

¹⁸ Especially so in the case of the article by David Jacoby, 'From Byzantium to Latin Romania: Continuity and Change', in B. Arbel *et al.* (eds.), *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean World after 1204* (London, 1989), 1–44; this also acted as the introduction to the whole volume.

with questions of relations between different cultural, religious, and political traditions, and the formation of collective identities. The 1989 contributions of David Jacoby and Michael Angold in particular focused on the uneasy mixture of antagonism and accommodation in Latin–Greek relations and on the variation in those relations across the eastern Mediterranean region as a whole.¹⁹ Equally, both volumes have an express interest in outsiders' perception of the region. In 1989 Malcolm Barber examined western attitudes to Frankish Greece and Robert Irwin looked at the image of the Byzantine and the Frank in popular Arab literature; in this present volume outsider perspectives on the region are considered within the contributions of Christopher Tyerman, David Abulafia, and Catherine Holmes.

So there are both differences and similarities between *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204* and this volume. Where this volume differs most substantially is in its endeavour to examine the coherence of the eastern Mediterranean region as a whole. That is to say, two important questions have framed the volume since its inception. First, there is the concern that was uppermost in our minds at the conference of 2005: whether amid all the disunities of the region (political fragmentation, commercial complexity, and religious diversity) there were any unities which gave the late medieval eastern Mediterranean world a coherent shape. But in addition there is a second, highly important follow-up question, which shaped both our conversations in 2005 and the writing of the volume in the years since. To what extent can we argue for a coherent eastern Mediterranean world in the later medieval period at all? In other words, does late medieval eastern Mediterranean history exist as a field?

Behind our questions about the existence of late medieval eastern Mediterranean history lay the vision provided by Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell's *The Corrupting Sea*. In that volume Horden and Purcell suggest that a coherent long-term social, cultural, and economic history of the pre-modern Mediterranean world can emerge, particularly if we look beyond essentially ephemeral phenomena such as international trade. For Horden and Purcell basic Mediterranean coherence in social organization, cultural production, and economic activity for more than two millennia stems from the interplay between the connecting possibilities provided by the sea itself and long-standing patterns of human exploitation of a landscape which comprised highly fragile but extremely versatile micro-ecologies.²⁰ One of the striking characteristics of Horden and Purcell's thesis about Mediterranean coherence is that it takes a very long view, not least because it was written in response to

¹⁹ Jacoby, 'From Byzantium to Latin Romania', and M. Angold, 'Greeks and Latins After 1204: The Perspective of Exile', in B. Arbel *et al.* (eds.), *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean World after 1204* (London, 1989), 1–44, 63–86.

²⁰ P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea* (Oxford, 2000).

the classic *longue durée* analysis of Mediterranean history by Braudel.²¹ But whatever the strengths of the long chronological perspective, important questions remain about how far the Horden and Purcell thesis holds up when scrutinized in the light of more limited periods of time and in the context of particular zones within the Mediterranean. In this volume we do not claim to have produced a full account of how far the experience of the eastern Mediterranean world in the later medieval period supports, refutes, or refines the positions taken by Horden and Purcell. But we hope to have ignited a broader discussion of the usefulness of Horden and Purcell for the study of the region in this period. As will become clear at the end of the introduction to this volume, even if the framework provided by Horden and Purcell does not provide perfect accommodation for the experience of the eastern Mediterranean in the later Middle Ages, there is still a strong case that this was a region which made sense in unified terms both for those who looked in upon it from the outside and those who lived within its confines.

4. CONTENT AND IMPLICATIONS

In what remains of this introduction we wish to offer some guidance to the structure and logic of this volume as well as some thoughts about its wider implications. The volume opens with three chapters which can be read as stand-alone chapters but which also offer gateways to the other contributions. In the first of these positional papers, Catherine Holmes opens up the question of how far religious identity was a key unifier across the eastern Mediterranean region. In the process she engages with some thought-provoking recent analyses of late medieval identity-making among Greeks and Latins as well as with a conspicuous strand of current thinking in the historiography of the Crusades which argues for the central importance of distinct, and usually hostile, religious identities in medieval contexts. Holmes suggests that before we make easy assumptions about religion as a unifying factor which provided long-term immutable boundaries between different communities, we should pay close attention to the social and political contexts within which the evidence for clearly defined religious identities was produced. Among the most important of those contexts was intense religious competition, itself a product of the fluid and flexible political structures that so often typified the region. The expression of apparently distinct and separate identities, particularly on the part of representatives of organized religion, may not reflect how

²¹ F. Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris, 1949); tr. S. Reynolds, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (London, 1975).

religion itself was practised and experienced. Indeed, as Robert Irwin suggests later in the volume in his chapter on the place of Jerusalem in late medieval Muslim spirituality, religious beliefs and practices may have been far more plural and 'messier' than the hostile polemic of some of those sources hitherto privileged by religious and political historians suggests.²²

If religion did not have the power to unify groups into exclusive identities over long periods of time as many traditional interpretations have assumed, then we need to beware overestimating the inevitability and continuous nature of a struggle between Christians and Muslims in this period, or between Orthodox Greeks and Catholic Latins, or between any other confessional groups. We also need to avoid assuming that wherever conflict arose it was inevitably driven by the politics of religious identity. Taken together the contributions of Holmes and Irwin also suggest that if religion had a unifying power it may have been in the field of those devotional practices which were shared across communities, including across Muslim-Christian frontiers. This is not to argue that religious polemic and the distinct identities it sought to promote had no role in the shaping of the politics and societies of this eastern Mediterranean world. But as Judith Ryder points out in her contribution on the career of the mid-fourteenth-century Byzantine theologian, scholar and politician, Demetrios Kydones, we should be willing to think more in terms of a plurality of views about theological and political issues rather than about singular and entrenched positions; within a plurality of responses there was also considerable room for potential compromise and unity.

The notion that common religious devotions could coexist with denominational differences is also a theme developed by one of the other opening chapters to the volume, that by Shepard on the long-term resilience of Byzantine Constantinople. This chapter illuminates how Byzantium after 1261 promoted itself by deploying a complex array of politico-religious and imperial-ecclesiastical resources. As Shepard reveals, this was a twofold process. On the one hand the Byzantines were engaged in active cultural 'out-reach' over very large distances indeed, distributing religious largesse, particularly relics, among those who were willing to recognize their authority or had the potential bring them forms of practical aid. On the other hand, Constantinople itself remained a charismatic centre for pilgrims of all Christian backgrounds, as well as a reservoir of useful materials for emerging political agents who were seeking to legitimize their aspirations and hegemonies. Strikingly those attracted by the legitimizing potential of Byzantium included not just members of the Orthodox Church but a variety of western powers.

²² A point picked up by Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between Ottomans and Latins*, 288–9.

Shepard shows how even during periods of immense political instability, the Byzantine regime in Constantinople was able to extend its reach far beyond the eastern Mediterranean world, as far north as Lithuania and as far west as England and France. Just as significant, his decoding of the magnetism of Constantinople helps to explain why Byzantine political culture remained such a powerful shaper and legitimizer of new regimes both within and beyond the late medieval eastern Mediterranean world.²³ This is a theme the implications of which are explored in greater detail by many of the other papers in this volume. In a wide-ranging article which focuses on little-studied visual evidence, especially coins, Eurydice Georganteli demonstrates how far Byzantine visual motifs, especially those associated with imperial rule, were borrowed by new hegemonies across the Near East in the eleventh to fifteenth centuries. These included Seljuks, Ayyubids, Crusaders, Georgians, Armenians, and even fellow Byzantines (Trebizond), strikingly rulers from both Muslim and Christian traditions. Meanwhile, in an article which has Constantinople at its core, Teresa Shawcross examines how and for what reasons the post-1204 Latin rulers of Constantinople adopted practices and traditions associated with Byzantium in the establishment of their own power-base during the early thirteenth century. With reference to a later period of Latin-Byzantine relations, Chris Wright analyses the uses the Gattilusio lords of the island of Lesbos found for Byzantine political culture in legitimizing their own far more localized lordship.

Byzantium was, of course, not the only point of reference for new regimes. Georganteli demonstrates how both Muslim and Christian rulers borrowed very freely from a repertoire of images from a variety of traditions in constructing their self-presentations. Some of these traditions had a long shared history as powerful authorizers across the eastern Mediterranean region. Alternatively, as Dimitris Kastritsis indicates in his submission on the early Ottomans, Byzantine traditions could be fused with models from elsewhere in the building of authority, including from the political culture of the Anatolian Turks, the Mongols, and Persia. Nor should it be assumed that by borrowing from a Byzantine cultural vocabulary new hegemonies were necessarily demonstrating an awestruck and uncritical response to a more antique culture, or that Byzantium itself was resistant to cultural borrowings. It is vital to recognize that the process of translating Byzantine religious and political culture to new contexts inevitably created new meanings which the Byzantines themselves could not always control.

Similar points could also be made for another long-standing charismatic centre within the eastern Mediterranean region in the later Middle Ages which

²³ On this point see also J. Herrin, 'Thirteenth-Century Prosopography and Refugees', in J. Herrin and G. Saint-Guillain (eds.), *Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 2011), 303.

was exploited for its legitimizing potential by its rulers: Jerusalem. As Robert Irwin's article shows, Jerusalem too was a place the legitimizing potential of which had been actively promoted by its Christian rulers of the twelfth century. Once the city passed into Muslim hands again after Saladin's conquest of 1187, this charisma-fostering was a task taken on by first the Ayyubids and later the Mamluks. But, just as in Byzantium, the charisma of Jerusalem was shaped by two interrelated processes: on the one hand, the active management by political rulers; on the other, the somewhat more unpredictable and unmanaged devotions of local people of all religious backgrounds and the interests of pilgrims from further afield.

Shepard's contribution also draws attention to another overarching theme within the whole volume, namely how far the eastern Mediterranean in the later Middle Ages was a region where intense competition shaped all facets of life whether religious, political, or economic. Competition is so ubiquitous that it can be easy to miss, especially in contexts where long-standing practices or traditions are also visible. As Shepard argues, the Byzantine exploitation of Constantinople and its religious culture to further diplomatic ends was nothing new but a practice with many antecedents in the Middle Byzantine period. However, what *was* new was the intensity of the regional competition that the Byzantines of the post-1204 era faced amid a constantly shifting political and diplomatic landscape. In the case of Constantinople's claims to religious hegemony, this competition came both from within the Orthodox Church, particularly from the patriarchates of the Bulgarians and Serbs, but also from western missionaries, especially the mendicant friars. Yet, despite the defensive, hostile rhetoric which thunders in so many Byzantine sources, especially those written by churchmen (see Holmes), the Byzantines did not necessarily shy away from competition but sought to exploit it. This is most visible in Shepard's example of Vicina, a site on the Lower Danube, which had developed into an important emporium by the late thirteenth century in the context of Genoese and other traders' activities in the Black Sea. It was precisely here, in the midst of a highly competitive economic zone far removed from their own territorial dominions, that the Byzantine emperors invested in a metropolitan see which not only brought prestige to the Patriarchate of Constantinople but also gave the Byzantines a series of potentially useful ties into the loose and highly fluid politics of the Mongol Golden Horde.

Vicina was an enclave located on an island-like site in the delta of the Lower Danube which acted as a key junction point in a series of constantly changing and competitive economic, religious, and political relations. As such it seems to offer interesting Black Sea evidence for those arguments about the importance of islands in the operation of an inland sea which have been developed at great length in Horden and Purcell's study of the Mediterranean. Indeed, so important are islands to their overall model about the coherence

and connectivity of the Mediterranean world in pre-modern contexts that when we originally arranged the 2005 Oxford conference we asked David Jacoby to consider whether the late medieval eastern Mediterranean can usefully be seen as 'an island world'.²⁴ The response which Jacoby has produced to that question is a wide-ranging conspectus of commercial developments, economic exploitation, mobility, and migration within a region which had been greatly transformed by the disintegration of Byzantine political power around the time of the Fourth Crusade. At this level alone, Jacoby provides an exceptionally useful survey that draws together into one place much of his own research over many different decades while also integrating other historians' work. But this article can also be read as a laboratory within which the reader can test out how far some of the general ideas of Horden and Purcell stand up to scrutiny.

In this laboratory context, it is clear that there is much common ground between Jacoby and the authors of the *Corrupting Sea*. Both see politics and manmade endeavours as the shapers of the exploitation of landscape rather than regarding the physical environment as the determinant of human action. The importance of politics on the shaping of economic activity is also stressed in another chapter in this book, that by Kate Fleet, which makes the point that the very different approaches to Latin merchants taken by the Mamluks and Ottomans may have been determined by their domestic political structures and processes. Meanwhile, as far as common ground between Jacoby and the *Corrupting Sea* is concerned, cabotage is another shared interest.²⁵ Jacoby, like Horden and Purcell, stresses the importance of apparently rogue agents as key players in the redistribution of goods, especially pirates.²⁶ Jacoby also sees a strong role for migration in the Mediterranean economy. And in showing how Greeks as well as Latins were involved in such migration, including taking passage from the eastern Mediterranean to Genoa in western Italy, Jacoby substantiates a crucial point within the Horden and Purcell case, namely that the mobility of people was a crucial connecting dynamic within Mediterranean history.²⁷ Moreover, as Kate Fleet points out in her contribution to this volume, we should not forget the degree to which migration within the eastern

²⁴ For further analysis of the islands of the Aegean in the later medieval period see the extensive series of articles by G. Saint-Guillain (many of which are listed in the bibliography to Jacoby's contribution to this volume). For an assessment of the Aegean as an interconnected zone of communication see also G. Saint-Guillain and O. J. Schmitt, 'Die Ägäis als Kommunikationsraum im späten Mittelalter', *Saeculum Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte*, 56 (2005), 215–25.

²⁵ Horden and Purcell, *Corrupting Sea*, 118, 140–2, 365, 564–5.

²⁶ *Ibid.* esp. at 156–9.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 377–400; on migration as a key feature of the medieval Mediterranean see Balard and Ducellier, *Migrations et diasporas méditerranéennes*; S. McKee, 'Sailing from Byzantium: Byzantines and Greeks in the Venetian World', in J. Herrin and G. Saint-Guillain (eds.), *Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 2011), 291–300.

Mediterranean zone could be involuntary as well as voluntary. Slavery and the trade in slaves were ubiquitous phenomena.²⁸

To return to Jacoby, however, there are some crucial ways in which his analysis differs from Horden and Purcell, starting with the case of islands. While not denying the importance of islands to the economic endeavour of the region as a whole, Jacoby's arguments offer considerable nuance to the Horden and Purcell case that islands were the key junction points within a system of transmaritime connectivity. Not all islands were the same. Distinctions need to be made between large and small islands.²⁹ The latter often existed in highly perilous conditions, perched on the edge of subsistence, thus creating entirely different economic contexts from those which pertained on bigger islands. Moreover, islands did not operate in an economic world which was detached from that of the neighbouring coastal littoral. Indeed, in Jacoby's view, the economic significance of islands can only be explained by reference to the commercial activities, demands, and supplies of neighbouring seaboard, especially those which were near at hand.

But Jacoby's most significant departure is his contention that, whatever the role played by short-distance and low-level cabotage, international trade was of profound importance. This international commercial activity was a response to demand from outside the Mediterranean world itself, from both the west, and the east too, following the Mongol conquests of the mid-thirteenth century and the subsequent consolidation of Ottoman power. Not only that, but international trade radically reshaped broader patterns of economic exploitation within the eastern Mediterranean world itself while at the same time creating not just connectivity within that world but also fissures and difference. It was external pull factors from the west, for instance, which shaped the development of patterns of agricultural exploitation and lordship within Latin-held territories in the thirteenth century, and which tied those regions into an economic embrace with the west that was far more intense than in other areas of the eastern Mediterranean world. Later on, it was increasing demands from the east during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that helped to shape the emergence of new entrepôts, such as Famagusta on Cyprus, as well as the development of island economies such as Lesbos and Chios close to the Anatolian littoral where political competition between rival emirates was an important context to growth.

The interaction between politics and economics, especially against a background of competition, is a theme developed not only by Jacoby and Fleet, but also by Jonathan Harris, whose contribution explores some of the political implications of arguments developed in recent years by Angeliki Laiou, Tonia Kiousopoulou, and Nevra Necipoğlu and others about the increasing interest

²⁸ See also Horden and Purcell, *Corrupting Sea*, 388–91.

²⁹ Although note on the subject of small islands, Horden and Purcell, *Corrupting Sea*, 224–30.

in trade taken by Byzantine aristocrats in the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. The interest of Harris's exposition lies in its revelation of an entirely unexpected but highly important dimension to Constantinople; a characteristic which is explained by what happened when the enduring and charismatic exemplary centre examined by Jonathan Shepard met the complex matrix of commercial networks outlined by Jacoby and Fleet. Harris's point is that the loss of the city's hinterland to the Turks in the late fourteenth century and the diversification of the economic interests of the urban political elite into trade meant that by the fifteenth century Constantinople had many of the characteristics of an Italian city-state rather than of an imperial capital. Even more surprising, many of those whom we assume to be the upholders of an exclusive and defensive Byzantine identity turn out to be janus-faced: simultaneously loyal subjects and highly placed servants of the Byzantine emperor but also citizens of Italian cities, especially Genoa and Venice.

Harris's picture seems to turn the world completely upside down. When taken in conjunction with other chapters which demonstrate the malleability of religious identity and the plural cross-fertilization of cultural motifs between and across political and confessional traditions, does Harris's picture suggest that the late medieval eastern Mediterranean world was so fundamentally fluid, peopled by so many populations with so many different, overlapping, and at times contradictory loyalties, that the only unities left for the historians to grasp, are assemblages of symbols? Verbal and visual languages of power which we can label 'Byzantine', 'Islamic', 'Frankish', or 'Latin', but which are themselves so prone to cross-fertilization and refashioning that once pressed into use by regional hegemonies they too prove impossible to disentangle? If semiotic muddle is so ubiquitous then perhaps the only unifier in the late medieval eastern Mediterranean world is disunity, or more prosaically, 'mess'.

This level of deconstruction, we think, would be to go too far. Instead unities can still emerge, especially if we think of the region in terms of shared social, cultural, religious, and economic practices. That is to say, there was the potential for those shared religious devotions identified by Holmes, Irwin, and Kastritsis to unify populations. Equally, the appropriation, reuse, and combination of images and motifs from multiple sources of authority by aspiring political regimes described by Shepard, Shawcross, Wright, and Georganteli was another shared practice, this time at the level of political culture.

However, it is also important not to allow this world of shared religious devotions and political cultures to blind us to other crucial unities, those of competition and conflict. Competition, as we have already explained, is a leitmotif running through many of this volume's submissions; but it is important to remember that competition did not always remain at the level of religious polemic or symbolic appropriation. As the contributions of Kate Fleet, Christopher Tyerman, Dimitris Kastritsis, and David Abulafia make

clear, the eastern Mediterranean was both a real and an imagined theatre of violent conflict too.

Even if, as Christopher Tyerman and Dimitris Kastritsis indicate in this volume, late medieval calls to holy war (both jihad and crusade) often served purposes other than motivating armed engagement, the eastern Mediterranean region from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries was still a crucible of frequent violence. There *were* some crusades, especially against the Mamluks in the mid-fourteenth century and against the Ottomans several decades later, as Tyerman's survey of crusading activity makes clear. Battles, raids, sieges, and other forms of violent behaviour were also absolutely integral to the promotion of political and commercial ambitions in this period. Competition was synonymous with violence, both between and within groups of political actors. The routes to power within the Mamluk, Ottoman, and Byzantine polities could be bloody, involving the murder of rival claimants to power and civil war. Indeed, as is well known, it was within the context of political infighting within the Byzantine and other Balkan polities that the Ottomans were first able to establish a position on the European side of the Bosphorus (Kastritsis). Equally well-known is the degree to which commercial competition between the Venetians and Genoese across the Mediterranean world could spiral into armed conflict. For example, the War of Chioggia (1378–81) which culminated in a naval battle close to Venice itself, was ignited by conflict over control of Tenedos, an island located close to the entrance to the Dardanelles and of strategic importance for access to Constantinople. Meanwhile as David Abulafia indicates in his contribution, the eastern Mediterranean was just one theatre of conflict for other supra-regional powers whose rivalry extended across the whole Mediterranean region; in his case study those rivals are the Genoese and Aragonese.

Even more apparently peaceful activities associated with trade, such as the business of the Latin consuls in non-Christian-controlled territories, were inseparable from violence. The Mamluks regularly arrested and maltreated Latin consuls as a means of keeping control over western traders in their territories (Fleet). Just as important as real violence was the fear of violence. Western pilgrims travelled across the Aegean to Syria and Palestine in constant fear of seizure by 'the Turk' (Holmes). Anxiety about violent uprising and fifth columns were important shapers of the processes of cross-cultural borrowings in the legitimisation strategies that we observe among new and uncertain regimes such as the Latins of Constantinople in 1204 (Shawcross) and the Gattilusio of Lesbos in the fifteenth century (Wright). For peasants and citizens of all ethnicities and religions, the presence of fortifications throughout many parts of this region was a constant reminder of the threat of violence which could come both from internal ruling authorities and outside predators. As David Abulafia shows, even western Europeans looking in from the outside through the window of a work of fiction, such as the

fifteenth-century Catalan romance, *Tirant lo Blanc*, were presented with a picture in which violence was synonymous with the eastern Mediterranean. While the authors of *Tirant* may have had little first-hand experience of the region, their production still references those long-term interests western Europeans had in this region, including crusade on the one hand as well as the acquisition of wealth on the other. In this context the romance *Tirant* was a collective Catalan memory, recalling and justifying the activities of earlier western adventurers who had plundered their way across the east in the name of God and gold, especially the Catalan Company who in the decades after 1302 fought as mercenaries for the Byzantine emperors against the Turks of north-western Anatolia, before eventually moving on to seize the Duchy of Athens in mainland Greece. The romance of *Tirant*, Abulafia suggests, demonstrates just how far such interests remained 'live' in western thought if not always in action after 1453.

The acquisition of resources within a context of pragmatic violence frames the narrative of *Tirant*. Yet, it is striking that the material basis to power is a theme which only a few chapters within this volume have developed in any detail (Jacoby, Harris, Fleet). This is clearly an area for future study, especially in comparative context. Above all we need to know more about how the kinds of political actions investigated in this collection, especially the construction of symbolic representations, intersected with the extraction of material resources from subject populations through taxation or other forms of impositions and dues, especially when those subject populations were of a different ethnic or religious background to their governors. Of course, the structures through which rulers at both the macro and micro level exploited labour and commerce varied considerably both in time and space. David Jacoby's work has always emphasized how models of exploitation varied considerably between those areas dominated by Latin lords in Greece and those under Venetian control, and even between state-controlled Venetian Crete and rather looser lordships associated with Venetian authority such as those in the Cyclades archipelago.³⁰ Nonetheless, exploring the material dimension to the other political and religious themes developed in this collection would be a profitable direction of travel. To add more of a 'material' underpinning to the study of the politics of this region would also fit with recent calls for a greater awareness of material contexts to the study of the Crusades.³¹

³⁰ See e.g. D. Jacoby, 'The Encounter of Two Societies: Western Conquerors and the Byzantines in the Peloponnese after the Fourth Crusade', *AHR* 78 (1973), 873–906; idem, 'From Byzantium to Latin Romania', *passim*.

³¹ C. Tyerman, 'Cross and Crescent', review of J. Phillips, *A Modern History of the Crusades* and T. Asbridge, *The Crusades: The War for the Holy Land*, *Times Literary Supplement*, 12 Feb. 2010.

5. THE LATE MEDIEVAL EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN: A COHERENT REGION?

Understanding how man and an environment of micro-ecologies interacted in the production of material wealth is a driving theme of Horden and Purcell's *Corrupting Sea*. It was from their diachronic investigation of that interaction that Horden and Purcell argued for a coherent and interconnected Mediterranean world across more than two millennia. In concluding, we want to ask whether it is indeed possible to talk about the eastern Mediterranean in the later Middle Ages as a distinct unit.

Here our contributions point in interesting directions. In some ways our contributors suggest that the kind of Mediterranean unity envisaged by Horden and Purcell does not pertain to the eastern Mediterranean at the end of the Middle Ages. Where Horden and Purcell stress a distinct history 'of' the Mediterranean, as opposed to a multitude of histories which merely happened 'in' the Mediterranean, the chapters here are more ambivalent about such distinctions. On the one hand, David Jacoby's demonstration of the power of the economic and political imperatives of the outside world to reshape the internal workings of the socio-economic environment of the eastern Mediterranean suggests that it is impossible to present a commercial history 'of' this region on its own terms alone or to see international trade as nothing more than ephemeral froth on a deeper and more unchanging tide of local transportation. In a similar way the passage of pilgrims from more distant locales in and out of the eastern Mediterranean world (Holmes and Irwin) and the continued desire to crusade and acquire booty in that world (Abulafia) suggest a region with exceptionally permeable boundaries which was very open to outside interference and influence. That said, Christopher Tyerman's contribution on the history of crusading, especially the history of the use of the crusade by such western writers as Philippe de Mézières or the cluster of literati connected to the court of the Duke of Burgundy, may give us pause to think about just how far outsiders' interests and activities really did affect quotidian experience in the region. Aside from contending that relatively few crusades actually happened in this period, Tyerman also argues that many of the initiatives we find in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century literary sources were either entirely unrealistic or, even more strikingly, not really about concrete plans to campaign in the eastern Mediterranean at all. Instead those who constructed such paper-crusades were principally concerned with entirely western European political and spiritual contexts. Crusade in this sense became a useful discourse for discussing other purely western issues rather than a clarion call for action in the east.

Perhaps the most useful way forwards with the history of the eastern Mediterranean in the later Middle Ages is not to become too obsessed with the 'of' and 'in' distinction which frames the Horden and Purcell analysis.

Indeed, it is striking that in the more cultural chapters towards the end of their volume some uneasiness about this distinction begins to intrude even into Horden and Purcell's own interpretation. More fruitful might be an approach which sees the eastern Mediterranean as a zone which is defined and given unity by creative and symbiotic relationships with a series of outside worlds. Whether westerners, for example, chose to use the eastern Mediterranean merely as an imaginative canvas upon which to project their views about more domestic issues (Tyerman and also potentially Abulafia on *Tirant*) or whether they actually elected to visit and to write about the region as pilgrims (Holmes) or as other sorts of travellers (Fleet), their testimonies can be used to support the notion that at the very least this was a region with integrity for those outsiders. In the case of pilgrimage texts, we can map the westerners' understanding of the region's unity by looking at the routes and stopping points that the pilgrims catalogued: itineraries which were demarked not just by Jerusalem, but by other shrines and watering holes across the southern Adriatic, the Aegean, Cyprus, and the littoral of the Levant, as well as other charismatic centres such as Constantinople, Sinai, and even Cairo in Egypt. Mapping Muslim views of the region should also be possible through using travellers' accounts such as those of Ibn Battuta, who journeyed from Tangiers through Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Anatolia in the early fourteenth century. Looking at such itineraries might of course throw up disunities and disjunctions rather than a unifying vision. Risks remain.

And, of course, the important question remains as to whether the regional integrity perceived by outsiders had any relevance to those living within the eastern Mediterranean space. Here we need to face the fact that explicit comment about regional integrity emanates more rarely from sources within the eastern Mediterranean than from those produced by outsiders. However, the shared cultural, political, and devotional cultures discussed so extensively in this volume suggest that despite enormous heterogeneity, complexity, and fragmentation, at the level of everyday experience much common ground was experienced by those who lived in the eastern Mediterranean world between the twelfth and the early sixteenth centuries. Testing out the truth of this contention will clearly require further investigation of cultural, political, and religious practices at highly localized levels but also in comparative context too. That is to say, we need to probe how far the localized pictures across the eastern Mediterranean world resemble or differ from one another. Future research into shared practices and cultures will also require much greater integration of the study of economic activity. We know from documentary sources now held in central and western Mediterranean archives (Venice, Genoa, Marseilles, Barcelona) that it was in the field of the economy, especially trade, that there was considerable cooperation between different religious and ethnic groups. So great was this cooperation that there are grounds for talking of a shared commercial culture across the eastern Mediterranean. This is a

significant theme within the contribution by Jonathan Harris in this volume and is also developed by David Jacoby; it is a subject about which many other leading scholars have made important contributions over several decades, particularly in the area of commercial contacts between Latins and Greeks.³² Questions remain, however, about how far those trading contacts and common commercial practices intersected with and related to other shared experiences especially in the spheres of devotional and political culture, although Eurydice Georganteli's chapter makes important suggestions about how shared motifs on late medieval coins belonged to contexts which were simultaneously political and commercial.

In this introduction and in the papers which now follow, we have tried to identify unities which help to explain some aspects of the complex and diverse eastern Mediterranean world of the later medieval period. We have focused mainly upon the theme of 'encounter'. We realize that this may leave some readers searching in vain for an exhaustive account of the more traditional ways in which the eastern Mediterranean in this period has usually been approached. We apologize that the reader will not find a series of histories about the major imperial, political, religious, or economic units of this region. But our decision to focus on thematic unities rather than distinct units does not mean that we wish to deny the existence of those units. For instance, we are confident that Byzantine, Ottoman and Mamluk power existed, and that the Italians did indeed trade across the whole region as well as govern particular parts of it. But we think that all-encompassing histories of the Byzantines, Ottomans, Mamluks, Venetians, or Genoese must surely be written within a framework which pays close attention *first* to the profound fragmentations within the late medieval eastern Mediterranean world, and *second* to the common cultural, political, and economic practices which united such a plurality of communities.

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³² Balard, *La Romanie génoise*; N. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires grecs et latins à Constantinople (XIII^e–XV^e siècles)* (Montreal and Paris, 1979); A. E. Laiou-Thomadakis, 'The Byzantine Economy in the Mediterranean Trade System, Thirteenth–Fifteenth Centuries', *DOP* 34–5 (1982), 177–222; K.-P. Matschke, 'Commerce, Trade, Markets and Money: Thirteenth–Fifteenth Centuries', *EHB* ii. 771–806; Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between Ottomans and Latins*; Jacoby's contributions as listed in the bibliography to his own contribution to this volume.

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‘Shared Worlds’: Religious Identities— A Question of Evidence

Catherine Holmes

We went into a church of the Greeks, which stood near our inn, that we might pray therein and then rest a little in the shade. While we sat there a clerk in orders came and said to us in the Latin tongue, ‘What are you doing in the Greek church? Here close by is a Latin church of your rite; it is there that you ought to pray and rest yourselves.’ So we arose and went with him to the Latin church. . . . I found that this clerk was a monk . . . and that he was the priest of both churches, both the Greek and the Latin one, and that in all respects he conformed himself to the rite of each; for on Sundays he first celebrated Mass in the Latin church, and consummated it in the western fashion with unleavened bread; and when this office was finished he crossed over to the Greek church, and consummated in the eastern fashion with leavened bread. This displeased me much, and I held that priest to be a heretic of the worst kind . . . for the two rites cannot be performed by one and the same person.¹

One of the most striking examples of disunity in the late medieval eastern Mediterranean is the large number of religious faiths that proliferated there. Although some parts of the region exhibited a greater level of religious complexity than others, one did not have to travel far to encounter Orthodox Christians, Catholics, Monophysites, Maronites, Nestorians, Copts, Jews, Sunni Muslims, Shii Muslims, and Druze. But while religion can appear to be a classic instance of late medieval eastern Mediterranean disunity, it has also often been viewed as one of the region’s strongest unifying forces. Dimitri Obolensky, for instance, saw the practices and beliefs of Orthodox Christianity binding together communities both within and beyond the

¹ Felix Fabri, *Felicitas Fabri Evagatorium in Terræ Sanctæ, Arabiæ et Egypti Peregrinationem*, ed. C. D. Hassler (Stuttgart, 1843–9), i. 176–7; tr. A. Stewart, *The Book of the Wanderings of Felix Fabri (circa 1480–1483)* (London, 1896), i. 199–200. I am very grateful to Marian Coman for this reference.

eastern Mediterranean world throughout the Middle Ages. Meanwhile, for Donald Nicol Orthodox Christianity was the major component of a late medieval Byzantine identity; more recently Dimitar Angelov has argued for an increasingly important role for the church in the legitimizing of Byzantine emperors in Nicaea, Epiros, and Trebizond in the later Middle Ages.² From an Ottoman perspective the influential 'gaza' thesis of Paul Wittek argued that militant Islam inspired the territorial expansion of the fourteenth-century Ottomans. And while various revisionist models (one of which occurs in this volume) have subsequently refashioned the Wittek argument, newer interpretations *still* give an important role to religion by arguing that the Ottomans of the fifteenth century justified their hegemony to the wider Muslim community in increasingly religious terms.³ Of course, as the introduction to this volume makes clear, in recent years scholars have tended to turn away from grand regional unifying theories to the more intensive study of geographically restricted locales. Yet even as investigations have become more localized, scholarly interest in the nature and implications of group loyalties, especially of religious and ethnic identities, means religion remains integral to most interpretations of social and political change.

In this chapter I want to look more closely at the significance of religious identity in the late medieval eastern Mediterranean. This focus may seem reckless given scholarly disagreements about how identity itself should be conceptualized. Historians have long disputed whether identities (particularly modern national identities) are to be understood in terms of the imposition and internalization of boundaries or as more organic phenomena which develop out of shared beliefs and practices. More recently, scholars have begun to move beyond questions of inclusivity and exclusivity to ask how identity as a cultural construct interacts with individual actors' own cognitive processes and senses of self.⁴ Even among historians of the late medieval eastern Mediterranean world, disagreement often prevails about the nature, extent, and impact of identity.⁵ And among those scholars who are interested

² D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth* (London, 1971); D. M. Nicol, *Church and Society in the Last Centuries of Byzantium* (Cambridge, 1979); D. G. Angelov, 'Byzantine Ideological Reactions to the Latin Conquest of Constantinople', in A. E. Laiou (ed.), *Urbs Capta=La IV, Croisade et ses conséquences* (Paris, 2005), 306–8.

³ P. Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1938); for a revisionist position see R. P. Lindner, 'Stimulus and Justification in Early Ottoman History', *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 27 (1982), 207–24; see Kastritsis in this volume for further reassessment.

⁴ e.g. the discussion in P. Mandler, 'What is "National Identity"? Definitions and Applications in Modern British Historiography', *Modern Intellectual History*, 3 (2006), 271–97; G. S. Gregg, *Culture and Identity in a Muslim Society* (Oxford, 2007), 14–56.

⁵ Among Byzantinists, for instance, 'identity' is a concept that has been employed with increasing frequency and explicitness to decode the late medieval history of those territories and peoples which had once been ruled from Constantinople. But the results have been mixed. Thus, for some scholars, 'late' Byzantines identified themselves in terms that were essentially familial and highly localized: A. Bryer, 'The Pontic Greeks Before the Diaspora', *Journal of*

in the religious dimensions of identity at this time, there is division between those who think in terms of untransgressable and secure boundaries that hold firm over a long duration, and those who conceive of more fluid, complex, and multiple identities.⁶ Yet, it is precisely because so many historians have invoked identity to explain social and political change in the eastern Mediterranean in the final centuries of the Middle Ages, and precisely because religion is so often seen by scholars of this region as integral to self-perceptions and group loyalties at this time, that I want to focus on religious identity.

The ultimate question that needs to be asked of religious identity in the late medieval eastern Mediterranean world is the role that it played in broader social and political change. But in this chapter I want to argue that we can only begin to make headway with an answer to this much broader question if we pay close attention to the ways in which contemporary evidence conditions our understanding of religion and identity. As Philippe Buc has indicated with reference to 'ritual', if medievalists wish to utilize broad conceptual categories we must be more explicitly aware of the way in which the surviving evidence itself shapes our apprehensions.⁷ In this context, I will acknowledge that very large numbers of the contemporary voices from this period describe, praise, and decry individuals and groups in terms of their religious affiliations, practices, and beliefs, even when apparently non-religious issues are at stake. Yet, I will go on to suggest that this language of religious identity needs to be

Refugee Studies, 4 (1991), 315–34; T. Shawcross, *The Chronicle of Morea* (Oxford, 2009) for a regional reading. For others, a long-established Byzantine identity as Roman Christians was replaced and/or complemented by a more exclusive and even nationalist self-perception which drew particular inspiration from the history and literature of ancient Greece: M. Angold, 'Byzantine Nationalism and the Nicaean Empire', *BMGS* 1 (1975), 49–70; A. Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2007), esp. chs. 2 and 6. Recent historiographical research has emphasized a series of diverging Byzantine identities over the 'late period': G. Page, *Being Byzantine* (Cambridge, 2008). For one of the editors of this volume a 'traditional' Byzantine identity embracing both empire and faith proved remarkably durable and widely shared in the later period, inclusive even of distant émigrés in western Europe: J. Harris, 'Common Language and the Common Good: Aspects of Identity among Byzantine Émigrés in Renaissance Italy', in S. McKee (ed.), *Crossing Boundaries* (Turnhout, 1999), 189–202. In contrast Sally McKee has suggested that while 'Greek' identity was experienced widely throughout the former Byzantine world and beyond in the later medieval period, a distinctly Byzantine identity was increasingly confined to social and intellectual elites, and even then proved to be an allegiance with relatively little resilience in the face of social and political pressure: S. McKee, 'Sailing from Byzantium: Byzantines and Greeks in the Venetian World', in J. Herrin and G. Saint-Guillain (eds.), *Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean After 1204* (Aldershot, 2011), 291–300. For discussion of multiple identities in relationship to late medieval Cyprus see A. Nicolaou-Konnari, 'Greeks', in A. Nicolaou-Konnari and C. Schabel (eds.), *Cyprus: Society and Culture 1191–1374* (Leiden, 2005), esp. at 61–2.

⁶ For examples of hard boundaries, see N. Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1195–1312* (Aldershot, 1997); for more fluid, shifting, and multiple apprehensions see T. Kolbaba, *The Byzantine Lists* (Urbana, Ill., and Chicago, 2000); S. McKee, *Uncommon Dominion* (Philadelphia, 2000).

⁷ P. Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual* (Princeton, 2001).

read extremely carefully. Above all, close attention needs to be paid to the purpose, audience, and structure of texts in which such language appears and to the broader contexts within which such writings were composed. To fine-tune my argument I will focus on written materials from two periods in the time-frame covered by this volume: on the one hand, texts from the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries when power in many erstwhile Byzantine provinces was seized by new Latin lords; on the other, on writings from a rather later period of geopolitical change when Ottoman hegemony was beginning to undermine a variety of long-standing regional powers. Although far more investigation will be required before any lasting conclusions can be drawn on the power of religion to organize identities and shape action, a stronger awareness of the mediating impact of evidence is a vital first step.

1. RELIGIOUS IDENTITY AS HOSTILE FRONTIER

Any investigation into the concept of religious identity in the later medieval eastern Mediterranean world must begin with the observation that many texts associated with this region in this period draw strict distinctions between different faith groups and articulate those boundaries through inflammatory language. Let me take some examples both from the beginning and end of the period that this volume embraces.

In 1185 the Norman king of Sicily organized a raid on the Byzantine Empire. Among the cities that were attacked was Thessalonica. The city was sacked and temporarily occupied. Eventually the Normans were driven out by a Byzantine relief force from Constantinople. Shortly afterwards the city's Byzantine archbishop Eustathios recorded his experiences of the Norman attack in a long and highly rhetorical text which makes extensive use of ethnic and religious stereotypes and explains actions, including extreme violence, in terms of religious motivation.⁸ Throughout his account Eustathios refers to the invaders as either *barbaroi* or *Latinoi*. In that section of his text when he describes the actual sack of the city, he deploys a series of vivid vignettes about the destruction and pollution of those buildings, symbols, and inhabitants with religious associations. Thus, according to Eustathios, local Orthodox priests within the city were cut down by the Latins; the laity were killed as they sang the *Kyrie Eleison*; nuns were raped; sacred vessels and icons were stripped; the

⁸ Eustathios of Thessalonica, *The Capture of Thessaloniki/Eustathios of Thessaloniki*, tr. J. R. Melville Jones (Canberra, 1988); includes Greek text ed. S. Kyriakides with B. Lavagnini and V. Rotolo, *Eustazio di Tessalonica, la Espugnazione di Tessalonica* (Palermo, 1961). For a French tr. of Eustathios's narrative and an examination of broader contexts see P. Odorico, *Thessalonique: Chroniques d'une ville prise* (Toulouse, 2005), 24–34, 141–254.

barbaroi bared their bottoms in church and urinated on holy objects. So great indeed were the outrages committed by the invaders, especially in holy places, that Eustathios believed that they had all but declared war on God himself.⁹ Meanwhile, once the initial sack was over Eustathios observes how the invaders forced the inhabitants of the city, including priests, to be shaved and have their hair cut so that they would conform with Latin practices; yet he explicitly contrasts this Latin desire to impose uniformity on the inhabitants of the city with a refusal on the part of the invaders to live with the Greeks.¹⁰ Such was the hatred that the Latins felt for those they had assaulted that even when Eustathios himself tried to mediate between the invaders and the inhabitants he could not guarantee success.¹¹ Meanwhile, Eustathios indicates that the events of 1185 not only opened up deep fissures between Latins and Greeks, but also between Greeks and other religious and ethnic groups. He expresses particularly deep rancour for those local Armenians who had joined the Latin assault. They are accused by Eustathios of doing more harm during the sack than the Latins, and afterwards of lording it over the inhabitants and profiteering during a time of food shortage. Worse still, Eustathios accuses both Armenians and Latins of deliberately polluting supplies of bread and oil with lard and suet, so that 'good Christians' would transgress rules on fasting. As Eustathios puts it: 'It was as if their purpose was not only to change our fortune by reducing us to slavery, but to make a mockery of our holy religion'.¹²

The impression that one gains from reading Eustathios's account of the Norman attack on Thessalonica is that religious motivations were strong on the part of the Latin invaders and their local Armenian associates. In return, he implies that the Normans' assault on the organized religious life of the city induced a strong sense of solidarity among the orthodox inhabitants of the city. As such, Eustathios's text seems to bear witness to a late twelfth-century eastern Mediterranean world in which impermeable identities were both formed and strengthened by hostile engagement with those whose religious beliefs and practices were different. Indeed, what is particularly striking about Eustathios's text is how far social practices connected to hairstyle, beards, and dress appear to be as important to the marking out of religious identity as actual belief. As such, Eustathios's narrative corroborates two observations made in Tia Kolbaba's study of the lists of Latin errors that were drawn up by Byzantine writers from the twelfth century onwards: first, that Latin errors were far more frequently connected by contemporaries to contrary practice rather than to contrary belief; and second, that Byzantine invective against Latins abounds with accusations of corruption and pollution.¹³

⁹ Eustathios, *Capture*, esp. 112–17.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 130–3.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 128–9. ¹² *Ibid.* 126–7.

¹³ Kolbaba, *Byzantine Lists*, *passim*, but esp. at 138–44.

If we move more than three centuries after Eustathios was writing to a more southerly location, then here too one can find texts which convey the impression that religious identities were shaped and confirmed by hostile encounter; that such identities were highly impermeable; and that they were articulated as much through practice as through belief. The texts I have in mind are those associated with western pilgrimage to Syria and Palestine, and in particular some vivid passages from the 'Treatise on the Holy Land' which was composed at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by Francesco Suriano for the community of Poor Clares in Foligno in central Italy.¹⁴ The author of this text was a friar, originally from Venice, who had considerable experience of life in the Holy Land, first as a merchant, and then subsequently as prior of a Franciscan outpost in Beirut. Later in his life he was the Guardian of Mount Sion, the Franciscan house in Jerusalem from where friars acted as guides to western pilgrims. As Guardian Suriano was perfectly positioned to comment on the relationship between the various Christian denominations which shared the shrine of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, on local encounters between Christians and Muslims, and on other religious representatives in this region, including Jews. During the course of his treatise Suriano makes a series of scurrilous accusations about other faiths. Among the constellation of Christians to be found at the Holy Sepulchre he describes the Greeks as 'our worst and most atrocious enemy'. According to Suriano, the Greeks provoke God through their heresies, persecute friars, are dominated by the Turks, and are dispersed through the world like the Jews. It is also striking that that Suriano elaborates his contrast between Latin and Greek Christians through the device of lists of errors which focus on suspect social practice rather than doctrinal differences.¹⁵ Meanwhile, later in his treatise Suriano draws contrasts between Latin Christians and Muslims, arguing that 'as Mohammed sought to differentiate from us, likewise the Saracens do in all their actions'. Here too he employs a list of errors to make his rhetorical point. But again while some of Suriano's contrasts allude to obvious distinctions in devotional practice (the direction of prayer, for instance), others have the character of slanderous invective about practical social arrangements. Here, gender is invoked to diminish Muslims. Thus, among Muslims men do housework, weave, and carry water, while women trade; Muslims value mares while Christians value horses. Meanwhile, as in

¹⁴ Francesco Suriano, *Il trattato di terra santa e dell'oriente di Frate Francesco Suriano*, ed. G. Golubovich (Milan, 1900); T. Bellowini and E. Hoade (trs.), *Francesco Suriano's Treatise on the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1949); for a very brief assessment of Suriano's work see, T. Renna, 'Jerusalem in Late Medieval Itineraria', in B. F. Le Beau and M. Mor (eds.), *Pilgrims and Travelers to the Holy Land* (Omaha, Neb., 1996), 119-31.

¹⁵ Francesco Suriano, *Il trattato*, 71-4; Bellowini and Hoade, *Treatise*, 83-7; Suriano brackets the heretical Greeks at the Holy Sepulchre with a series of other Orthodox Christians including Bulgarians, Russians, Wallachians, and Laz.

the case of Eustathios and those Byzantine lists studied by Kolbaba, Suriano invokes charges of pollution, stating that Muslims continuously wash their hands and yet are always dirty.¹⁶

Superficial reading of the twelfth-century narrative of Eustathios of Thessalonica and the much later fifteenth-century treatise of Francesco Suriano suggests that religious hostility was one of the main and consistent themes throughout the eastern Mediterranean in the later Middle Ages. Such apparent hostility would initially appear to be in line with a strongly held view in recent scholarly literature, particularly in the ever burgeoning field of crusades studies, that religious identities in the central and later medieval periods were characterized by permanent and impenetrable boundaries, divisions which were merely hardened by practices and beliefs associated with crusade and jihad. A particularly explicit statement to this effect has been made in recent years by Jonathan Riley-Smith. In noting the difficulty modern scholars have with understanding religious ideas when 'we have almost entirely lost the old sense of faith as a means of self-definition', he enjoins fellow historians to:

carry ourselves back into a world in which on all sides the words *infideles*, *gentiles*, *goyim*, *kuffar* denoted insurmountable obstacles. It was possible to trade and make treaties with those of another religion, even to enter into military alliances with them. It was possible to be influenced by their culture and to admire aspects of it. It was possible to recognize that men and women of other faiths could be naturally good and to blame oneself for one's ill-treatment of them . . . But there could never be empathy and any distant vision we as historians have of finding true points of contact turns out to be a mirage, drifting away from us whenever we try to approach it.¹⁷

Riley-Smith's statement may be stark but it is not exceptional. Similar sentiments have been expressed by historians working on Islamic responses to the crusades in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and by many medievalists who track western Christian attitudes and approaches to Islam between the early twelfth and later fifteenth centuries. According to this approach, even as everyday encounters between different religious groups deepened and thickened in the context of warfare, trade, settlement, and intellectual exchange, the boundaries of religious identity became more rather than less entrenched. Stark accusations of pollution and very public rituals of purification were the means by which divisions were often articulated. Abusive language that accused the practitioners of other faiths of behaving like base beasts, revelling in impurity, and polluting holy sites was common.¹⁸ Even

¹⁶ Francesco Suriano, *Il trattato*, 199–200; Bellorini and Hoade, *Treatise*, 203–4.

¹⁷ J. Riley-Smith, 'Introduction', *Medieval Encounters*, 13 (2007), 185–6.

¹⁸ For an insightful summary of this historiography see N. Housley, 'The Crusades and Islam', *Medieval Encounters*, 13 (2007), 189–208; for work on the conversion and purification of sacred space and the built environment by Muslim rulers in 12th- and 13th-cent. Syria and Palestine see C. Hillenbrand, *The Crusades* (Edinburgh, 1999), ch. 5, esp. at 285–301.

where different religious groups were engaged in similar devotions, sometimes even in the same physical milieu, it has been claimed that contemporaries were all but unaware of, or simply unwilling to comment on, what to modern eyes seem to be shared practices. 'Occasional insights about the similarities between the two faiths on such issues as pilgrimage and holy war were simply not pursued.'¹⁹ One discussion of Muslim pilgrimage to Jerusalem acknowledges that the city was home to pilgrims from Christian, Jewish, and Muslim traditions but maintains that the three religions remained essentially separate.²⁰ This is not to say, of course, that all scholars working on the interaction of religious and ethnic groups in late medieval eastern Mediterranean contexts adopt the same starkly exclusivist perspectives as the historians of religious warfare. Indeed, much innovative research on the eastern Mediterranean is being conducted currently by scholars with an interest in those everyday encounters and social practices, such as commerce or local administration, which transcended the stark normative statements of religious distinction drawn up by churchmen or legislators. However, it is striking that even for historians working in this milieu, religious boundaries are still often seen as sacrosanct. Thus a recent discussion which demonstrates the exceptional fluidity of relationships between Greeks and Franks in late medieval Cyprus in a vast array of contexts still asserts that, 'For both groups, religion remained the most important criterion of cultural identity, group affiliation and social differentiation'.²¹

2. RELIGIOUS IDENTITY: COMPETITION, OPPORTUNITY, AND DANGER

In what follows here, I want to ask how far the evidence available from the late medieval eastern Mediterranean supports the emphasis placed by many recent appraisals on distinct and impermeable religious identities. But rather than shifting my analysis towards sources from non-religious contexts which by their very nature illuminate the quotidian breaching of boundaries, I want to look more deeply at precisely those texts which actively mobilize the language

¹⁹ Housely, 'Crusades', 191.

²⁰ Y. Frenkel, 'Muslim Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Mamluk Period', in Le Beau and Mor, *Pilgrims and Travelers*, 82-3; for a different perspective see Irwin in this vol.

²¹ Nicolaou-Konnari, 'Greeks', 61. The ubiquity of hostile boundaries between Greeks and Franks in matters of religion on late medieval Cyprus has been directly questioned by C. Schabel: 'the two groups were able to find not only a *modus vivendi* but much religious common ground'. Schabel, 'Religion', in A. Nicolaou-Konnari and C. Schabel (eds.), *Cyprus: Society and Culture 1191-1374* (Leiden, 2005), 158.

of religious difference. In other words, I want to ask how we should read this language of religious difference, much of it couched in extremely hostile terms, in which motifs of pollution and baseness proliferate.

One potential reading of the language of religious difference is that negative stereotypes and polarized hyperbole were merely a smoke screen to obscure the rather more pragmatic, and sometimes murkier, relationships that arose during the encounter of different religious and ethnic groups. Thus, there are strong reasons, for instance, for thinking that Eustathios of Thessalonica's invective against Latins and Armenians was not necessarily so much an account of how those with sharply defined religious identities were propelled by their group loyalties alone into violence and resistance, as a clever rhetorical tool to divert attention away from charges of incompetence and double-dealing that the archbishop faced in both Thessalonica and Constantinople. We know, for instance, that Eustathios had been uncomfortably closely associated with the Komnenoi, the imperial dynasty which had presided in Constantinople at the time of the Norman attack on Thessalonica and which had provided, in the shape of David Komnenos, the governor of the city in 1185. In the wake of the disaster at Thessalonica, that Komnenian regime in Constantinople had been toppled and replaced by a new imperial family, the Angeloi. Eustathios's own text reveals just how awkward it was for him to avoid blame in the rapidly changing political circumstances within Byzantium itself which followed the Norman attack. In the early stages of his narrative, for instance, he is forced to acknowledge how he had once been a supporter of both David Komnenos and his cousin the emperor Andronikos Komnenos. Having made that admission, he then seeks to save his own reputation by simultaneously castigating the one Komnenos (David) for incompetence, complacency, and craven behaviour, and the other (Andronikos) for brutality and rashness.²² Moreover, it is likely that Eustathios did not simply use religiously charged rhetoric to defuse charges of personal incompetence that arose from his association with a now discredited governing regime. It is also possible that he was also trying to defend himself from accusations of collaboration with the Normans. That Eustathios had quite reasonable relations with at least some of the Normans is evident in a number of places in his own text. For instance, he relates how some of the Normans, including their commander Alduin, tried to stop the plundering of holy sites, understood the worth and significance of precious church goods, and tried to return stolen books to the archbishop.²³ Eustathios also tells us that he received sums of money from the Normans.²⁴ In addition it becomes apparent that he was the Normans' chief

²² The need for Eustathios to apologize for his association with the Komnenian regime has been noted by Odorico, *Thessalonique*, 24–34.

²³ Eustathios, *Capture*, 116–17, 126–9.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 112–13.

intermediary with the local population.²⁵ That Eustathios later found these somewhat cordial relationships embarrassing is suggested by his efforts to downplay any personal gains from his contacts with the enemy. Thus, he claims that the sums of money he accrued from the Normans were tiny. He emphasizes how his social status was diminished during the time of the enemy occupation of the city, his personal circumstances impoverished, his garden plundered, and the shrine of Demetrios, the patron saint of the Thessalonica, desecrated.²⁶ In such apologetic circumstances, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that the urgency of Eustathios's need to identify with the rest of his flock and to regain the trust of the imperial regime in Constantinople were both so great that he embellished his narrative of the sack of the Thessalonica with vivid anecdotes which cast pious and orthodox Christians, above all clerics like himself, as the victims of plunder and despoliation by polluting heretics.

The mobilization of religious identity in the narrative of Eustathios of Thessalonica is a topic worthy of much further exploration, given the length and complexity of the text itself, Eustathios's own career as an imperial administrator and rhetorician, and the very vexed nature of his relationship with the inhabitants of Thessalonica which had already begun to break down before the Norman raid.²⁷ However, rather than pursuing this particular text further here, I would like to broaden the discussion and note the degree to which mismatches between a rhetoric of polarized religious identity and rather more nuanced political relationships can be observed elsewhere in the late twelfth century in areas which saw the replacement of Byzantine rule with Latin lordship. One striking case is that of St Neophytos the Recluse, a monastic founder, whose many writings contain reflections on the Byzantine loss of Cyprus in 1191 to Richard I of England and the island's subsequent subordination to Latin rule. Up until his death in 1220 Neophytos spoke in highly negative terms of the enslavement of Greeks by the Latins, whom he

²⁵ Ibid. 128–9.

²⁶ Ibid. 110–19. For the degree to which Eustathios was vulnerable to charges of collaboration with the Normans see M. Angold, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081–1261* (Cambridge, 1995), esp. at 179–96.

²⁷ Odorico, *Thessalonique*, 26–7; Angold, *Church and Society*, 179–96; A. Kazhdan, 'Eustathios of Thessalonica: The Life and Opinions of a Twelfth-Century Rhetor', in his *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1984), 115–95; A. F. Stone, 'Eustathian Panegyric as a Historical Source', *JÖB* 51 (2001), 225–58; K. Metzler, *Eustathii Thessalonicensis De emendanda vita monachica*, CFHB 45 (Berlin, 2006); idem, *Eustathios von Thessalonike und das Mönchtum* (Berlin, 2006); A. Makrinos, 'Eustathios Archbishop of Thessalonica's Commentary on the Odyssey: Codex Marcianus 460 and Parisinus 2702 Revisited', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, 50 (2007), 171–92; see also C. Holmes, 'The "Capture of Thessalonike" by Archbishop Eustathios of Thessalonike as a Lens for East-West Relations in the Later Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries', in E. Georganteli (ed.), *Encounters in the Balkans, the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea, 12th–16th Centuries* (Leiden, forthcoming).

often referred to in terms of their misguided religious beliefs, as *kakodoxoi* and *kakopistoi*.²⁸ On the other hand, as scholars of medieval Cyprus have lately come to realize, during this very same period Neophytos's own monastery, the Enkleistra, actually gained in terms of wealth and property. In part this expansion was to supply the needs of his own monks, whose resources may have been reduced when important patrons from the heart of the Byzantine Empire, including the emperor himself, were lost after 1191. But, as Neophytos's *typikon* (foundation document) of 1214 makes clear, some of the new property was to supply the many visitors who came daily to visit the monastery such was its fame.²⁹ Nor was the Enkleistra alone in Cyprus. A similar pattern of expansion after 1191 has been observed at the monastery of Makhairas.³⁰

Until recently these instances of Greek monastic prosperity on post-conquest Cyprus were regarded as remarkable exceptions to a more general rule of retreat and impoverishment in the face of the acquisitive Latin settlers.³¹ However, it is now believed that some of the good fortune enjoyed by Enkleistra and Makhairas may have been more usual, and that at least some of that prosperity is to be explained in terms of active Latin support rather than despoliation. Neophytos, for instance, nominated the King of Cyprus as his monastery's *epitropos*, or lay guardian. Nor was the king merely a protector; he was also identified as a benefactor and brother (*euergetes* and *adelphos*).³² In 1210 Neilos, the founder of Makhairas, also put his institution under the protection of Latin lords.³³ In both cases Neilos and Neophytos prescribed that their protectors should be commemorated in holy services within the monastery. Of course, care must be taken before assuming that the provision of royal protection for such monasteries reflects entirely cordial relationships between Latins and Greeks. After all, the search for royal protection could just reflect a desperate bid on the part of Greek founders to shore up their foundations against attacks from other members of the Latin community, especially lay lords. And, indeed, in 1220 and 1222 agreements were drawn up between the Latin clergy, the nobility, and the Queen of Cyprus, which indicate that some

²⁸ C. Galatariotou, *The Making of a Saint* (Cambridge, 1991), 226–7, 230–43.

²⁹ Neophytos, 'Typikon', in *Syngrammata Hagiou Neophytou tou Enkleistou*, ed. I. E. Stephanes (Paphos, 1996), ii. 37 (ll. 14–20); C. Galatariotou, 'Neophytos: Testamentary Rule of Neophytos for the Hermitage of the Holy Cross near Ktima in Cyprus', *BMFD* iv. 1353.

³⁰ Coureas, *Latin Church*, 256–7; Schabel, 'Religion', 189.

³¹ Coureas, *Latin Church*, 251–60.

³² Neophytos, 'Typikon', ii. 34; tr. Galatariotou, 'Neophytos: Testamentary Rule', 1352. Even those scholars who used to argue against this reading of the *typikon*, claiming that the Byzantine emperor of Nicaea was the *epitropos*, have now concluded that it was indeed the Lusignan king that Neophytos had in mind (cf. Galatariotou, *Making of a Saint*, 217, which denies this role to the Lusignans, and eadem, 'Neophytos: Testamentary Rule', 1343, which concedes).

³³ 'those who are at the time distinguished by the magistracies of the island' (A. Bandy, 'Machairas: Rule of Neilos, Bishop of Tamasia, for the Monastery of the Mother of God of Machairas in Cyprus', *BMFD* iii. 1113–1164).

Greek church property had been confiscated by secular powers. It is also argued that Pope Honorius III's decision to protect the Cypriot houses of Greek monasteries in Palestine, Egypt, Constantinople, and Georgia was taken to ward off royal or noble despoliation.³⁴ And as the loss of a handful of villages by the monastery of Kykkos to the crown of Cyprus proves, royal authority was not above occasional sequestrations of Greek monastic property. However, as Christian Schabel has recently pointed out, Kykkos appears to be a solitary example, and there is no other proof for the despoliation of Orthodox monasteries by the new Latin elite on Cyprus in the immediate aftermath of conquest. All other transfers of Greek monasteries to Latin control usually associated with the post-conquest period prove to have little basis in fact; and, indeed, if such transfers ever happened, then they occurred far more gradually.³⁵ In fact, as Schabel points out, if any group saw its religious foundations threatened by the conquest it was not the Greeks so much as the Venetians.³⁶ Meanwhile, even if some Orthodox monasteries were over time transformed into Latin houses, the long-term picture of Orthodox monasticism under Latin rule was one of prosperity rather than decline.³⁷

For scholars of late medieval Cyprus, the relatively benign treatment of Orthodox religious structures during the Latin period of rule is a field which is only just beginning to be explored, and one in which long-held assumptions about the irreconcilable hatred of Greek and Latin churches are having to be rethought. As such research is conducted, it will be necessary to take care lest what has hitherto been an overly polarized depiction of Latin-Greek relations is replaced by an equally oversimplistic model of confessional harmony. However, at this early juncture in the revisionist process, it is worth pointing out that the hints of Latin support for Orthodox monasticism on Cyprus are echoed by the experience of Norman Sicily, where recent research has pointed to active sponsorship for Greek monastic houses by the Latin rulers of that region.³⁸

As far as this study is concerned, the most important point that the cases such as Eustathios of Thessalonica and Neophytos the Recluse reveal is how far the language of religious difference can obscure the motives and methods of conquest and the degree and nature of indigenous resistance. Furthermore, such evidence suggests that the most vocal of propagandists of religious difference were, at least on some occasions, simultaneously material beneficiaries of conquest. Such conclusions must caution us against taking the religiously charged rhetoric of many texts associated with dramatic political change as clear evidence that conquest and occupation were motivated

³⁴ Coureas, *Latin Church*, 258.

³⁵ Schabel, 'Religion', 186–9.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 184.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 189: e.g. in the 14th cent. the monastery of St George of Mangana near Nicosia owned property well beyond Cyprus itself, including in Cilician Armenia and Palestine.

³⁸ G. Loud, *The Latin Church in Norman Italy* (Cambridge, 2007), 494–512.

primarily by religious zeal, or that indigenous communities were so oppressed that they immediately and necessarily responded by consolidating around a religious identity which was clearly differentiated from that of their invaders. Indeed, if anything the material benefits which some of these authors received suggests that invasion, sudden political change, or periods of uncertainty in government, could be moments of opportunity, at least for the representatives of organized religion.

Nor should we assume that these principles apply merely in the Byzantine world in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries; they also seem to illuminate later experiences elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean too. Take, for instance, the situation of both Latin and Orthodox Christians in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt as it is refracted through fifteenth-century pilgrimage-related texts. On the one hand, such texts suggest that Christian sites and devotional practices deteriorated as the Mamluk state weakened in the face of Ottoman expansion. In his account of a visit to the monastery of St Catherine at Sinai in 1470, the Burgundian pilgrim Anselme Adorno complained about the physical dangers that local Arab tribesmen presented to western pilgrims. The numbers of monks observed by western visitors in the later fifteenth century were much lower than those recorded by fourteenth-century pilgrims.³⁹ Meanwhile, in 1494 the abbot of Sinai was killed by Arab raiders.⁴⁰ A few years later Francesco Suriano, the Guardian of Mount Sion, was imprisoned for two years in Cairo (1510–12).⁴¹ At this time the Mamluks threatened to destroy the Holy Sepulchre.⁴² Yet, for all the pressure that Christianity may have experienced as the Mamluks attempted to shore up the remnants of their crumbling authority, it would be a mistake to assume that the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were a time of collapse for Christian devotion in areas of the eastern Mediterranean ruled by Muslims. Even as alternative pilgrim sites, such as the Holy House of Loreto near Ancona, gained in popularity in western Europe, and even as the Ottomans increased their control over the seaways of the eastern Mediterranean, western pilgrims continued to make their way to Syria and Palestine.⁴³ One English pilgrim, Richard Torkington, the rector of

³⁹ Anselme Adorno, *Itinéraire d'Anselme Adorno en Terre Sainte (1470–1)*, ed. and trs. J. Heers and G. de Groer (Paris, 1978), 226–36, esp. n. 4 on p. 228.

⁴⁰ Francesco Suriano, *Il trattato*, 175–6; Bellorini and Hoade, *Treatise*, 4, 187–8; the same report was conveyed by the Milanese pilgrim Pietro Casola.

⁴¹ It is possible that he was imprisoned because the Mamluks wanted to persuade him to use his influence to stop raids by the Hospitallers of Rhodes. For the taking of Latin hostages for political purposes see Fleet in this volume.

⁴² Bellorini and Hoade, *Treatise*, 8–9.

⁴³ For the popularity of other western pilgrimage sites, including so-called passion parks which recalled the topography of the Holy Land, see C. Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West* (Oxford, 2005), 329–62. On the Holy House at Loreto see Morris, *Sepulchre*, 345–6; B. Hamilton, 'The Ottomans, the Humanists and the Holy House of Loreto', *Renaissance and Modern Studies*, 31 (1987), 1–19. Not all contemporaries were persuaded by the claims of Loreto

Mulbarton in Norfolk, made his pilgrimage in 1517, the very year that the Mamluks were defeated by the Ottomans.⁴⁴

Particularly striking evidence for the vitality of Christianity in these years of geopolitical uncertainty comes from Francesco Suriano's 'Treatise on the Holy Land' which demonstrates how Franciscans in the region maintained not only the ideology of mission which underpinned the philosophy of their founder Francis (a principle that Suriano explicitly invokes in his preface), but also sustained, and even expanded preaching practice on the ground.⁴⁵ For, somewhat unexpectedly, Suriano's text includes several passages, including those taken from original documents, about the Franciscan mission to Ethiopia in east Africa in 1480, a journey which had taken the participating friars through Cairo.⁴⁶ Hopes that regions long associated with the legends of Prester John might assist in crusading initiatives represent one possible context for the forging of contacts with the Christians of Ethiopia at this time. Despite demonstrating considerable disdain for the heretical beliefs of the Ethiopians, noting their idiosyncratic language and letters, and labelling them 'coarse' pastoralists who were 'almost black in colour', Suriano, nonetheless, emphasized the fervency of these Christians' devotional practices and their favourable disposition towards the Franks.⁴⁷ Meanwhile, the report of 1480 located in Suriano's treatise stresses the King of Ethiopia's martial commitment to Christianity ('every year he fights for the faith'), while commenting on his wealth and army recruitment.⁴⁸ But while crusading hopes may help to explain these late fifteenth-century Franciscan contacts with Ethiopia, another reason for the friars' missionizing may have been the desire to bring the Ethiopians into more explicit union with the Catholic faith, at least at the level of recognition of papal overlordship. Suriano notes how during the 1480s he took dictation of a letter from the then Guardian of Mount Sion which urged union on the King of Ethiopia. He also relates how at this time Ethiopian envoys were sent to Rome.⁴⁹ Other elements in Suriano's text also point to

(Francesco Suriano, *Il trattato*, 146–7; Bellowini and Hoade, *Treatise*, 159–60; Hamilton, 'Loreto', 4). Doubts did not stop western pilgrims slotting a visit to Ancona and Loreto into the schedule of their pilgrimage to the east: R. Mitchell, *The Spring Voyage* (London, 1965), 173; William Wey, *The Itineraries of William Wey to Jerusalem and to Saint James of Compostella*, ed. B. Bandinel (London, 1857), 52–4.

⁴⁴ S. M. Yeager, *Jerusalem in Medieval Narrative* (Cambridge, 2008), 21; for the continuation of pilgrimage deep into the 16th cent. see Morris, *Sepulchre*, 363–9.

⁴⁵ For references to the preaching model of Francis see Francesco Suriano, *Il trattato*, 1–2, 83; Bellowini and Hoade, *Treatise*, 20, 96.

⁴⁶ Francesco Suriano, *Il trattato*, 80–7; Bellowini and Hoade, *Treatise*, 93–100.

⁴⁷ Francesco Suriano, *Il trattato*, 76–7; Bellowini and Hoade, *Treatise*, 89–90.

⁴⁸ Francesco Suriano, *Il trattato*, 86–7; Bellowini and Hoade, *Treatise*, 99–100.

⁴⁹ Francesco Suriano, *Il trattato*, 80–3; Bellowini and Hoade, *Treatise*, 93–6. For the early history of the involvement of friars with crusading initiatives see C. T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades* (Cambridge, 1994).

unionist motives. For the Ethiopians were not the only other Christian group to be encouraged to entertain closer ties with Rome. Similar messages were sent to the Maronites of the mountains of Lebanon. As an Arabic- and a Greek-speaker, Suriano himself participated in initiatives which were designed to turn existing theoretical claims of papal lordship over the Maronites into more of a practical reality. That these expeditions enjoyed some success is indicated by the bull of confirmation of the Maronite patriarch Simeon of Hadath (1492–1524) sent by Pope Leo X in 1515.⁵⁰

The rather unexpected signs of prosperity that emerge in texts such as Suriano's treatise and the *typika* of thirteenth-century Cypriot monasteries are good evidence for the principle that uncertain political times could present the representatives of organized religion with opportunities for expansion. But if this is so, why did protagonists who were so often prospering nonetheless pepper their texts with the language of religious hatred, oppression, and even decline? One explanation is that while political change could present substantial opportunity, it could also be a time of danger, as pre-existing quotidian certainties and relationships were blown away to be replaced by a kaleidoscope of potential gains but also challenges and even losses. In such circumstances the representatives of organized religion might find themselves acquiring new recruits or fresh sources of patronage, but they might also be exposed to a competitive environment, in which their own confession could be trumped by other devotions or, more worrying still, be diluted by novel beliefs and practices.

Competition is certainly a theme which emerges in several of the texts under scrutiny here. In his account of the Norman occupation of Thessalonica, Archbishop Eustathios seems to describe competitive singing when he describes how the liturgical chant of the Greeks was intentionally interrupted by the 'babbling and shrieking' of the Latins.⁵¹ Within Suriano's long treatise the most virulently aggressive passage about other Christians comes in that part of the text which deals with the other groups located at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. While competition at this shrine which stood at the very centre of the Christian world was always fierce, it is possible that such rivalry became particularly marked during periods of political uncertainty. As

⁵⁰ Francesco Suriano, *Il trattato*, 68–71, 147; Bellorini and Hoade, *Treatise*, 11, 81–4, 161. For the Franciscan offensive amid the Maronites in the second half of the 15th and early 16th centuries, see K. Salibi, 'The Maronite Church in the Middle Ages and its Union with Rome', *Oriens Christianus*, 42 (1958), 100–4. Contacts between Rome and the Maronites waxed and waned in the centuries which followed initial Maronite recognition of papal overlordship c.1180. It is unlikely that recognition of papal supremacy was unanimous at any point during the Middle Ages, and on several occasions there were pro- and anti-union Maronite patriarchs: Salibi, 'The Maronite Church', 94–5; idem, 'The Maronites of Lebanon under Frankish and Maronite Rule (1099–1516)', *Arabica*, 4 (1957), 295, 303.

⁵¹ Eustathios, *Capture*, 134–7.

we have already seen, the declining power of the Mamluks facilitated a period of 'outreach' for the Franciscans but it clearly generated concerns too, particularly as far as the Franciscan presence at key shrines in Palestine was concerned. As Suriano himself makes clear, good relations with senior Mamluk authorities in Cairo were a Franciscan priority in order to protect the order from interference by regional officials, to prevent opposition to their building activities (including repairs to the roof of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem and the apse of the Holy Sepulchre), and to guarantee access to key sites where they encountered local hostility. Thus, despite Muslim antipathy towards pilgrims at Jenin in Samaria, Suriano was able to visit a number of mosques, including those housing the well of the Samaritan woman and the tomb of John the Baptist, because he had a letter from the Governor of Jerusalem.⁵² Mamluk protection may also have meant that the Latins had traditionally 'punched' above their weight at the most significant shared shrines. According to Suriano, the Holy Sepulchre was opened three times a year for Latin pilgrims in the later fifteenth century but only once for eastern Christians.⁵³ This fifteenth-century tradition was in marked contrast to the early fourteenth-century situation before the Franciscans were established at Mount Sion. At this time other eastern Christian groups exercised far more control over sacred space and devotional practices, especially the Georgians who, according to western pilgrims of this earlier period, held the keys to the edicule and led prayers in the Holy Sepulchre itself.⁵⁴ The virulence of Suriano's attack on both the Greeks and the Georgians at the Holy Sepulchre may be connected to an anxiety that the Franciscans were about to lose their influence in such important sites to the representatives of the eastern Christian denominations. The Georgians, for instance, were still a powerful presence in Jerusalem itself, sharing with the Franciscans the privilege of exemption from tribute and tax to the Mamluks.⁵⁵

Yet, for all the fears that a competitive environment engendered in individuals such as Eustathios at Thessalonica in the late twelfth century and Suriano in Jerusalem in the late fifteenth, some caution needs to be exercised. Such fears may not always amount to evidence for the outbreak of fierce and sectarian rivalry in conditions of political flux. Instead they may reflect rather different tensions, in particular the worries that the representatives of organized religion had about their own authority among their co-religionists, especially during periods of change. To put it another way, there is a strong possibility that the writers of the texts under examination here deliberately exaggerated hostility and competition between faiths in order to shore up their

⁵² Ibid. 127–30, 135, 152–7.

⁵³ Morris, *Sepulchre*, 312–3.

⁵⁴ Ibid. 301–5.

⁵⁵ Francesco Suriano, *Il trattato*, 74–5; Bellorini and Hoade, *Treatise*, 87–8.

own position. Eustathios's description of mutual acrimony during singing in Thessalonica is one such possible amplification. For, as Alexander Lingas has pointed out, Eustathios's claims about such competition actually appear rather far-fetched, mainly because there are few signs from the Middle Ages that the auditory dimensions to the liturgy produced any tension whatsoever between Latins and Greeks. Indeed, even the sternest Latin critics of Greek belief and practice, such as Odo of Deuil, the chaplain of Louis VII, who wrote a stinging anti-Byzantine account of the Second Crusade in the mid-twelfth century, was enchanted by Orthodox singing.⁵⁶

Meanwhile, similar arguments about the fear of threats to authority could also be made for Suriano. His concern about rival Christian denominations at the Holy Sepulchre may, for example, tell us little about the dangers that Latin pilgrims ran in travelling around the Holy Land, but rather more about Franciscan concerns over a loss of control over western European pilgrimage practices. To see why this is so, we need to separate out the history of Franciscan fortunes under Mamluk rule from that of western pilgrims. For while these two phenomena are sometimes treated as synonymous, based on the assumption that it was only the Franciscan presence at Mount Sion which ensured the safe passage of European pilgrim traffic, there is plentiful evidence to suggest that western pilgrimage could occur without the guidance of the friars. Pilgrims certainly travelled to the Holy Land when Jerusalem was in Muslim hands long before the Franciscans took up their place at Mount Sion in 1342; as we have already seen, those devoted to pilgrimage continued to come to Palestine deep into the sixteenth century after the Franciscan mission had been dissolved in Jerusalem by the Ottomans.⁵⁷ And, even during the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when the Franciscans did enjoy more of a monopoly over pilgrim traffic, not all western pilgrims took advantage of their services, preferring instead to use their own chaplains and other private contacts to organize their trips. More ominously for the Franciscans, many pilgrims were quite happy, if the opportunity arose, to experience the holy in the presence of, and even under the guidance of, representatives of *other* Christian denominations. In this context the differences between mendicant responses to St Catherine's at Mount Sinai and the experiences of other western pilgrims are striking. Whereas Suriano and the German Dominican Felix Fabri both deplored the fact that they could not celebrate mass within the chapel of the Burning Bush and were critical of the Orthodox monks' use of alms, many pilgrims, including the nobleman Roberto Senseverino in 1458 and the Burgundian merchant Anselme Adorno in 1471, found the visit to this

⁵⁶ A. Lingas, 'Medieval Byzantine Chant and the Sound of Orthodoxy', in A. Louth and A. Cassidy (eds.), *Byzantine Orthodoxies* (Aldershot, 2006), 143–9.

⁵⁷ Morris, *Sepulchre*, chs. 9–10; despite his beliefs about the dwindling of western pilgrimage after the 1520s, Morris in fact produces quite considerable evidence to the contrary.

remote community one of the most moving elements of their pilgrimage, and openly attested to the extreme piety of the monks they met.⁵⁸ Nor was it just western pilgrims' regard for the piety of other Christians that represented a threat to mendicant authority. It is also likely that eastern Christian practices and beliefs which were anathema to western Church authorities may also have exercised considerable attraction over those visiting the Holy Land from western Europe. The descent of the Holy Fire is a case in point. This particular ceremonial and the beliefs associated with it had been shunned by the western church since the mid-thirteenth century, but it continued to be practised at Easter time in the Holy Sepulchre by representatives of the eastern churches. For Suriano the Easter Fire celebrations were an error; nonetheless, he implies that many Latin pilgrims still attended the event when he admits that only the friars interpret the fire as a heresy and sin.⁵⁹

In her study of the Byzantine lists of the errors of the Latins, Tia Kolbaba suggests that virulently anti-Latin materials were usually not compiled to convince a Latin audience of their wrong-headedness, but were instead drawn up for a domestic Byzantine audience, usually in the aftermath of a military defeat or territorial occupation. At such moments, she argues, those in authority needed to remind their co-religionists of the dangers that they ran in associating with Latin practices and beliefs, even though very few of the errors they cite were strictly heretical according to Byzantine canon law. In Kolbaba's view, it was insecurity on the part of those whose authority was under challenge that explains the ferocity of the lists' invective, their focus on wrong practice, and their obsession with pollution. Kolbaba's arguments about the purpose and audience of the lists can also help us make sense of texts such as Eustathios's and Suriano's as well. Eustathios, for instance, wrote his text for the same reasons and readers as the authors of the lists: namely to staunch any potential loss of authority among an audience (both in Thessalonica and Constantinople) which he feared was liable to associate too freely with the Latins and borrow too heavily from their practices. In the case of Suriano, his treatise has many purposes, including describing the Latin rites and processions at the Holy Sepulchre which the community at Foligno could re-enact.⁶⁰ But his text is also an act of self-promotion, as evidenced by Suriano's constant stress on the importance of the Franciscan mission to the conduct of western pilgrimage and the safety of Christian holy places. It is

⁵⁸ Francesco Suriano, *Il trattato*, 177; Bellorini and Hoade, *Treatise*, 188–9; Mitchell, *Spring Voyage*, 132–47 (for Sanseverino); Adorno, *Itinéraire*, 226–36. For Fabri's response to Sinai see N. Ševčenko, 'The Monastery of Mount Sinai and the Cult of Saint Catherine', in S. T. Brooks (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and Power* (New Haven and London, 2006), 129.

⁵⁹ Francesco Suriano, *Il trattato*, 30; Bellorini and Hoade, *Treatise*, 47–8.

⁶⁰ For the popularity of Holy Sepulchre re-enactments among western women religious see K. Rudy, 'A Virtual Pilgrimage for Holy Week at a Netherlandish Birgittine Monastery around 1500', *700 Years of Birgittine Spirituality and Culture: Birgittiana*, 1 (2006), 313–23.

precisely in the course of making this argument that Suriano indicates that the Franciscan position was not as authoritative as he wished. Instead, western pilgrimage operated in a context that was plural, complex, and quite often outside the control of the Franciscans.

3. RELIGIOUS COMPLEXITY AND SHARED WORLDS

An important question which arises from Kolbaba's argument about internal authority and domestic audiences is whether the Byzantines of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were indeed consorting with those whom the authors of late medieval anti-Latin invective regarded as the heretical enemy and even sharing their habits. In her own study Kolbaba refers to several instances where Byzantines do appear to have followed practices condemned by the polemical Greek texts. These included monks who ate meat; clerics who fought; bishops who wore the coloured silken vestments, rings, and mitres associated with the Latin church; laymen who sang; aristocrats who adopted Latin prohibitions on degrees of marriage rather than those recommended by Orthodox theologians; and laymen who shaved as well as icons which depicted clean-shaven military saints.⁶¹ As Kolbaba observes, while the polemic of anti-Latin or anti-Greek invective portrays Greek and Latin practices as uniform, the reality within both spheres was of much greater diversity and overlap.⁶² Equally striking is Kolbaba's conclusion that diversity and overlap was often at its strongest in provincial contexts, especially in those areas no longer under non-Byzantine rule, such as the Peloponnese, or in regions where Constantinopolitan episcopal control was weak, such as Epiros or Thessalonica.⁶³ Such conclusions should not really surprise us, given the emphasis placed on cultural complexity by much recent scholarship on the literary, artistic, and political cultures of the Byzantine periphery, including many of the chapters in this volume.⁶⁴ However, despite the great advances made by such approaches, we are still only at the beginning of understanding how shared social and religious practices between different ethnic and religious groups worked on a daily basis in former Byzantine territories or in provinces outside Constantinople. That is to say, while the new literature on cultural complexity gives us a

⁶¹ Kolbaba, *Byzantine Lists*, 32–71.

⁶² *Ibid.*, esp. at 58, 69–70.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 70.

⁶⁴ M. Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies* (Cambridge, 2001); E. Jeffreys and C. Mango, 'Towards a Franco-Greek Culture', in C. Mango (ed.), *The Oxford History of Byzantium*, (Oxford 2003), 294–305; A. Eastmond, *Art and Identity in Thirteenth-Century Byzantium* (Aldershot, 2004); *idem*, 'Art and Frontiers between Byzantium and the Caucasus', in Brooks, *Byzantium*, 154–69; Shawcross, *Chronicle of Morea*.

much stronger sense of how political élites sought to manipulate, fuse, and create ethnic and religious identities for their own purposes of legitimation and control, there has been much less analysis of how social and religious practices worked on the ground. This is largely because it has usually been assumed that indigenous Byzantines and newly arrived Latins pursued essentially separate rites and practices in accordance with their basic religious identities. However, it is interesting that this certainty about the exclusivity of religious experience is now breaking down as historians begin to focus on shared practices as well as on difference. In Cyprus, for example, Christian Schabel has illuminated the phenomenon of shared religious processions led by members of the Latin clergy in which members of other Christian communities participated, including not just the island's Greek-speakers but also Armenians, Nestorians, Maronites, Georgians, and Ethiopians. Also present at such parades were Muslim Turks and Arabs as well as local Jews.⁶⁵

Clearly more work needs to be done to assess the typicality of the Cypriot case, but some striking parallels with Schabel's picture of shared practices do emerge elsewhere in the late medieval eastern Mediterranean world. Historians such as Benjamin Kedar and Robert Irwin (in this volume) are beginning to explore examples of shared religious habits, experiences and sacred spaces in late medieval Palestine and Syria. One particularly famous example is the shrine that sprang up around an oil-producing icon at the Greek monastery of the Virgin of Saydnaya near Damascus. This attracted large numbers of Muslim, eastern Christian and western European pilgrims from the twelfth century onwards.⁶⁶ As yet, shared shrines, processions, and ceremonies, as well as mutual respect for local holy men, in the late medieval Near East are phenomena which are often merely described rather than explained, although one important analytical step forward is Benjamin Kedar's suggestion that we should be sensitive to the subtle degrees of 'shared'. That is to say, according to Kedar, there is a difference between sites which were sacred to different communities but where there was no tradition of joint worship; between sites and ceremonies where practitioners of one faith were merely spectators or bit-part players in the rites of another faith; and between fully integrated worship involving members of different religions or confessions.⁶⁷ In this

⁶⁵ Schabel also describes shared marriage and funeral rites noting the lack of local support that visiting Latin clerics enjoyed whenever they tried to enforce more orthodox Latin practices (Schabel, 'Religion', 157–61, 215–17).

⁶⁶ B. Z. Kedar, 'The Convergences of Oriental Christian, Muslim and Frankish Worshippers: The Case of Saydnaya and the Knights Templar', in Z. Hunyadi and J. Laszlovszky (eds.), *The Crusades and the Military Orders* (Budapest, 2001), 89–100.

⁶⁷ Kedar, 'Convergences', *passim*; for further reflections on different levels of religious interaction and acculturation, especially between Franks and eastern Christians in Syria and Palestine, especially between 1100 and 1300, see B. Kedar, *Franks, Muslims and Oriental Christians in the Latin Levant* (Aldershot, 2007), esp. nos. V and VI.

context the observations of the fourteenth-century pilgrim Ludolph von Suchem are interesting. Von Suchem claimed that at the shrine of the Three Patriarchs at Hebron Muslims could enter the holy site (he fails to mention that it is a mosque), Jews could enter if they paid a fee, while Christians could only pray at the door.⁶⁸

Nonetheless, even if it is essential to examine instances of common devotion on a case-by-case basis, it is worth noting just how substantial and yet relatively untapped and unexplored are the sources which illuminate different aspects of shared sites and practices in Syria and Palestine, above all many late medieval western Christian pilgrim texts. In this context it is fascinating to see how for all of his invective against fellow Christian communities and his Muslim neighbours, Francesco Suriano's treatise shows that he led a devotional life which brought him into close contact with the beliefs, representatives, practices, and devotional space of other confessions and religions. As we have already seen, some of those encounters were hostile, or at least Suriano glosses them with hostile polemic. On the other hand, beneath the carapace of antagonism a more complex set of engagements also existed. Suriano, for instance, was well-informed about the rites practised by other Christian denominations and on good personal terms with representatives of other faiths. Despite calling the Jacobites the 'worst of heretics', he demonstrates a detailed knowledge of Jacobite singing and their practice of striking polished brass with a hammer; he also praises the Jacobite Patriarch in Cairo for the charity he extends to Christian captives. In this Jacobite passage of his text Suriano implies that he himself witnessed the Jacobite rite; and given that Suriano spent two years in captivity in Cairo, it is possible that he himself had been the recipient of the Patriarch's charity.⁶⁹ Nor is his knowledge limited to Christian devotions. He is aware of the Muslim practice of pilgrimage to Mecca, a subject of interest to some other late medieval pilgrims.⁷⁰ Even more striking is Suriano's awareness of which elements of Christian devotion were attractive to Muslims and which were of less interest. In common with Ludolph von Suchem, Suriano notes that while Muslims dislike the Passion story and shun sites connected with the death and resurrection of Christ, they are more attracted to locations associated with Christ's life and that of his family. Thus, Suriano records Muslim devotion to the House of St Anne and the leaving of bread by Muslim women at the spot in Bethlehem where the

⁶⁸ Ludolph von Suchem, *Description of the Holy Land and of the Way Thither Written in the Year 1350*, tr. A. Stewart (London, 1895–6), 92; despite theoretical prohibitions Ludolph also claims that there were ways for Christians to access the inside of the shrine.

⁶⁹ Francesco Suriano, *Il trattato*, 78; Bellorini and Hoade, *Treatise*, 91–2.

⁷⁰ Francesco Suriano, *Il trattato*, 101; Bellorini and Hoade, *Treatise*, 112–13; Anselme, *Itinéraire*, 68–70; in this volume David Abulafia also draws attention to the awareness of Mecca on the part of the 15th-cent. author of *Tirant lo Blanc*.

Virgin was believed to have given birth to Jesus.⁷¹ He also records Muslim and Jewish devotion for the Virgin at Mattariah (the garden where the Holy Family stopped on their way to Egypt).⁷² Meanwhile, Suriano's account also contains interesting evidence about shared processions. He explains how the friars, Armenians, and even Muslims were accustomed to process from Bethpage to Mount Sion on Palm Sunday.⁷³ Perhaps most strikingly of all, his narrative contains a number of instances where he himself appears to have shared both space and devotion with Greek monks and priests. He notes the devout Greek community that is to be found at the monastery of St Sabas in Palestine where he was accustomed to say office. His knowledge of Orthodox monasteries on the Black Mountain in northern Syria suggests that he had visited these communities too, perhaps when he was based in Beirut.⁷⁴ Together these examples of mutual understanding and in some cases shared practices stand in notable contrast to the extreme hostility that Suriano exhibits towards the Greeks in his invective about their presence at the Holy Sepulchre and his complaints about St Catherine's monastery. But even here, it is interesting to note for all of his lachrymosity, he identified his pilgrimage to St Catherine's as the most affecting of all of his travels.⁷⁵

The narrative of Francesco Suriano, Venetian merchant-turned-friar, Arabic- and Greek-speaker, and long-term resident in the eastern Mediterranean, is only one of several extremely interesting and complex late medieval pilgrimage-related texts which deserve far greater scrutiny for the evidence that they contain about shared religious sites and devotions. Others include Ludolph von Suchem (also discussed by Robert Irwin in this volume), Anselme Adorno, and the German Dominican friar, Felix Fabri, with whom I began this chapter. Because of his virulent outbursts against those non-Christian and non-Latin communities he found in the eastern Mediterranean, Fabri is frequently interpreted by scholars as representative of an exclusive and immutable Latin religious identity which was merely reinforced rather than challenged or nuanced by the practice and experience of pilgrimage. Yet care should be exercised even in the case of Fabri. Certainly he exhibits distaste for the alien and the hybrid. In common with other Latin pilgrims he expresses extreme unease about the competitive religious culture within which he was forced to conduct his pilgrimage. Like many others, Fabri was apt to deploy the discourse of religious difference to make sense of the logistical difficulties

⁷¹ Francesco Suriano, *Il trattato*, 92–3, 124; Bellorini and Hoade, *Treatise*, 104–5, 136; Ludolph, *Description*, 95, 105; Ludolph also notes Muslim devotional practices at the Church of the Virgin in Tortosa, where he alleges that Muslims had their children baptized (Suriano, *Il Trattato*, 166–7; Bellorini and Hoade, *Treatise*, 178–9).

⁷² Francesco Suriano, *Il trattato*, 94–6; Bellorini and Hoade, *Treatise*, 106–8.

⁷³ Francesco Suriano, *Il trattato*, 105–6; Bellorini and Hoade, *Treatise*, 118.

⁷⁴ Francesco Suriano, *Il trattato*, 124–5, 169; Bellorini and Hoade, *Treatise*, 137, 180 ff.

⁷⁵ Francesco Suriano, *Il trattato*, 177; Bellorini and Hoade, *Treatise*, 188.

of travel within Muslim-held territory. Motifs of pollution proliferate in his comments about non-Latins and non-Christians.⁷⁶ Yet, he also exhibited immense curiosity about other faiths, visited madrasas and mosques, and condemned those pilgrims who defiled the sacred space of others, arguing that the simple think they are serving God by playing tricks, but if the church tolerates both Muslims and Jews, then 'the sons of the church ought not to defile what the Mother endures'.⁷⁷ Felix Fabri's curiosity about the habits of others obviously needs to be treated with care. He wrote about pilgrimage in many different genres of writings for a wide variety of audiences in southern Germany.⁷⁸ The multi-stranded nature of his textual production means that we need to navigate with care before concluding that religious identity was irrelevant to political and social action in the eastern Mediterranean in later medieval period. Nonetheless, the richness of Fabri's œuvre, and the complexity of much of the other late medieval pilgrimage-literature, means that any scholarly interpretation of pilgrimage as an activity which merely entrenched pre-existing prejudices is likely to be too reductive.⁷⁹

4. CONCLUSIONS

In every late medieval eastern Mediterranean society there were figures like Eustathios of Thessalonica who vigorously promoted exclusive identities.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ D. R. French, 'Pilgrimage, Ritual and Power Strategies: Felix Fabri's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1483', in Le Beau and Mor, *Pilgrims and Travelers*, 169–79.

⁷⁷ G. Weiss, 'The Pilgrim as Tourist: Travels to the Holy Land as Reflected in the Published Accounts of German Pilgrims between 1450–1550', in M. J. Chliat and K. L. Reyerson (eds.), *The Medieval Mediterranean* (St Cloud, Mich., 1988), quotation at p. 125.

⁷⁸ K. Beebe, 'Felix Fabri and his Audiences: The Pilgrimage Writings of a Dominican Preacher in Late-Medieval Germany', D.Phil. thesis (Oxford, 2007).

⁷⁹ At the very least the writings of authors such as Fabri, Suriano, and Adorno seem to support the findings of a reinterpretation of east-west encounter as one that could transform rather than merely confirm and entrench existing perceptions of the self: M. Uebel, *Ecstatic Transformation* (New York and Basingstoke, 2004). For interpretations of pilgrimage in the eastern Mediterranean region which see encounter with the 'other' as serving the purposes of reinforcing pre-existing group identities see Yeager, *Jerusalem*, esp. ch. 1; T. A. Idinopoulos, 'Sacred Space and Profane Power: Victor Turner and the Perspective of Holy Land Pilgrimage', in Le Beau and Mor, *Pilgrims and Travelers*, 9–19.

⁸⁰ A particularly insistent voice within the late medieval eastern Mediterranean Islamic world was the Hanbali jurist Ibn Taimiyya, a fierce proponent for a Sunni Islam that was unpolluted by either Shii Muslims, the syncretist practices and beliefs of sufis, the heterodoxy of groups such as the Druze, or the practices of non-Muslims (Riley-Smith, 'Introduction', 186; H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Ibn Taimiyya canoniste hanbalite* (Cairo, 1939); M. U. Memon, *Ibn Taimiyya's Struggle Against Popular Religion* (The Hague, 1976); for Ibn Taimiyya's complaints about Muslims in Cairo participating in the painting of eggs during Christian Easter see N. Green, 'Ostrich Eggs and Peacock Feathers: Sacred Objects as Cultural Exchange between Christianity and Islam', *Al-Masaq*, 18 (2006), 36). Yet, here too it is important

But as this chapter has demonstrated, there are many reasons for questioning whether loud and hostile polemic amounts to conclusive evidence that the late medieval eastern Mediterranean world was characterized by exclusive and immutable religious identities or that those identities were the primary shapers and catalysts of action.⁸¹ Instead, the essentialized and exclusivist religious rhetoric apparent in some of our most impassioned sources masks a very different lived experience. And, indeed, it is the close reading of the very texts produced by the most vociferous promoters of exclusive identities which can help to bring that more complex and fluid reality to light.

This is not to argue that we should completely discount distinct religious identities in any investigation of the social and political history of the late medieval eastern Mediterranean region. As Sally McKee's detailed analysis of ethnic identity on Venetian Crete has suggested, religious affiliation was often the determinant of legal status and as such must be considered a constituent element of social and political action. A similar situation pertained in Cyprus.⁸² Meanwhile, the ubiquity of religiously charged polemic within so many different contemporary writings suggests that discourses of religious difference were widely known and utilized, both among those who came from within the region itself (Eustathios, Neophytos, and Francesco Suriano), and by those who were outside observers (Felix Fabri). This ubiquity means something. We must remain open to the possibility that such discourses of difference may under certain circumstances have had the power to mobilize support or to effect change, particularly at times of political instability. Nonetheless, the degree of fluidity and multiplicity of religious practice which the detailed textual analysis of this chapter has revealed suggests that the promoters of exclusive religious identities almost certainly struggled to impose their vision for any length of time.

to recognize that Ibn Taimiyya operated in the world of cross-cultural and religious borrowing in which boundaries were far from fixed (see Irwin in this volume). Ibn Taimiyya's polemic was only one voice in a contemporary landscape which Ibn Battuta, the early 14th-cent. Muslim traveller, portrays as thick with sufi lodges, many of which we know from documentary sources enjoyed high-level political support (Frenkel, 'Muslim Pilgrimage', 73–6). Ibn Taimiyya's warnings against Muslims visiting Christian shrines reveals just how divergent contemporary practice almost certainly was (Frenkel, 'Muslim pilgrimage', 63); even more intriguing is the suggestion made by one of Ibn Taimiyya's fellow propagandists that Muslims on pilgrimage to Jerusalem should not imitate Jews or Christians by meditating at the tombs of the prophets: Frenkel, 'Muslim Pilgrimage', 82–3.

⁸¹ For reflections on the gap between the rhetoric and prescriptions of churchmen and the lived experience of social integration and exclusion in another late medieval frontier context see N. Berend, 'Medieval Patterns of Social Exclusion and Integration: The Regulation of Non-Christian Clothing in Thirteenth-Century Hungary', *Revue Mabillon*, 69 (1997), 155–76.

⁸² For Crete see McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, 6; for Cyprus, Nicolaou-Konnari, 'Greeks', 21–6; however, comparison between Crete and Cyprus suggests that the political ramifications of the relationship between religious identity and legal status could differ quite considerably (Nicolaou-Konnari, 'Greeks', 18–21).

As for future research into the relationship between religious identity and broader social and political change within the region, one imperative must be to determine how the language of religious exclusivity played out in concrete political situations, particularly during periods of armed conflict.⁸³ This chapter has argued that such determinations must entail detailed analysis of the structure, purpose, audience, and context of the texts through which that language of religious identity was broadcast. But, even during crisis moments, it may be that religious identity played at most a supporting rather than driving role. Recent studies of conflict in the late medieval eastern Mediterranean world suggest that exclusive religious identities were rarely the sole or even the principal determinant of action: this at least is the picture which derives from Sally McKee's investigation of the St Titus rebellion of 1363 on Venetian Crete and from Dimitris Kastritsis's analysis of Ottoman rebellion in the early fifteenth century.⁸⁴ Distinct religious identities in such instances were at the very least enmeshed in a much more complex web of other social, economic, and political structures.⁸⁵

This conclusion in turn leaves open a number of other questions for future inquiry, in particular whether the intersection of different religious, social, economic and political structures gave rise to other sorts of distinct loyalties. Should we turn our attention away from religion towards political or regional identities instead? Certainly recent research by Teresa Shawcross has argued powerfully that contemporaries in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries attempted to construct a coherent Moreate identity through the use of historiography. But strikingly, here too, there are questions about how far a regional identity promoted by the authors or patrons of a complex text, in this case the 'Chronicle of the Morea', was necessarily more widely shared.⁸⁶ All of this opens up the question of whether 'identity' itself is necessarily a useful analytical tool for the examination of social and political action in the late medieval eastern Mediterranean region. As one recent critic has noted, historians of all periods have been very good at analysing the construction of identities by figures in authority, but much less acute at working out how they were experienced in practice and whether, indeed, they had any effect on

⁸³ As, for instance, in Shawcross, *Chronicle of Morea*, esp. chs. 8–11.

⁸⁴ McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, ch. 4; D. Kastritsis, 'Religious Affiliations and Political Alliances in the Ottoman Succession Wars of 1402–1413', *Medieval Encounters*, 13 (2007), 222–42.

⁸⁵ For a thought-provoking study of the interplay between religious group affiliations and class consciousness see D. Jacoby, 'The Encounter of Two Societies: Western Conquerors and the Byzantines in the Peloponnese After the Fourth Crusade', *American Historical Review*, 78 (1973), 873–906; Jacoby's call for more explicitly comparative studies of conquerors and local societies throughout the late medieval eastern Mediterranean region has received relatively little response in the thirty-seven years since it was made.

⁸⁶ Shawcross, *Chronicle of Morea*, esp. 211–17 (for the Peloponnese), 226–32 (for Cyprus and Epiros).

political, social, or economic change at all.⁸⁷ These are questions which historians of the eastern Mediterranean in the later medieval period need to probe further whether they choose to deal with political, regional, or religious identities.

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⁸⁷ Mandler, 'What is "National Identity"?', 271–81.

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Imperial Constantinople: Relics, Palaiologan Emperors, and the Resilience of the Exemplary Centre

Jonathan Shepard

The nature, extent, and viability of Constantinople's restoration as an imperial Byzantine centre during the Palaiologan period have received attention from modern scholarship, and it is clear that this restoration served highly personal ends: Michael VIII Palaiologos' monopolization of the throne came at the expense of the son and heir of Theodore Laskaris, John IV, whom he blinded on Christmas Day, 1261. Michael therefore had reason to try and cast himself as a 'New Constantine', and he sought to concretize rightful dominion of the city, sponsoring a number of building and decorative works.¹ As A.-M. Talbot observed, contemporaries 'praised Michael in fulsome but vague terms for his restoration of the churches and monasteries of the capital', and besides repairing the city-walls and the Blachernai palace he focused on St Sophia and other 'focal points of worship, pilgrimage and imperial ceremonial'.² These conspicuous repair-works solemnized his credentials in virtually unrepeatable fashion. Michael and his son Andronikos II are also credited with reviving or 'inventing' court ceremonies. Their role in this is being elucidated by R. Macrides and others. What look at first sight to be specifically Palaiologan practices may be

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¹ R. Macrides, 'The New Constantine and the New Constantinople—1261?', *BMGS* 6 (1980), 15, 22–4, 41; eadem, 'From the Komnenoi to the Palaiologoi: Imperial Models in Decline and Exile', in P. Magdalino (ed.), *New Constantines* (Aldershot, 1994), 270–5.

² A.-M. Talbot, 'The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII', *DOP* 47 (1993), 253, 261. See also, for orators' emphasis on church restoration, D. J. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West, 1258–1282* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 124–5.

considerably older and this would fit with Michael's stance as a 'New Constantine'.³ In other words, with ceremonial as with church buildings and furnishings, the emperor's prime concern was to resume what were supposed to be habitual Constantinopolitan cults and practices. Komnenian traditions of the twelfth century were probably recalled most readily, as with the re-establishment of Blachernai as the principal palace complex. Michael also needed to keep abreast of the building works of the rival Byzantine emperor at Trebizond, notably his massive St Sophia, redolent of Constantinople's in several respects; work on it ended in, probably, the mid-1250s.⁴

This is to summarize current scholarship on the tasks facing Michael VIII and his son in the first generation or two after 1261 when imperial rule had been reanchored in Constantinople. Less attention has been paid to the question of the links between the Palaiologan restoration and holy relics. The most celebrated relics, including the instruments of Christ's Passion, had mostly been seized by the Latins after the Fourth Crusade, and many were shipped off to the west. The instruments of the Passion were at first retained by the new Latin masters of Constantinople, partly because they denoted the legitimate exercise of imperial power. Among the instruments were the crown of thorns placed upon Christ's head, the sponge from which he drank vinegar while on the cross, the purple robe draped on his shoulders in mockery, and his burial-shroud. They had been kept by Middle Byzantine emperors in the Church of the Mother of God of the Pharos. Their presence in the palace complex was seen as tantamount to securing the city, underwriting the emperor's authority, and on occasion emperors saw fit to display them to eminent foreigners. Thus at the time of the Second Crusade Manuel I Komnenos had the French king Louis VII taken 'to the palace in the southern part of the City', to 'behold the holy things in the church there: I mean those things which, having been close to the body of Christ, are signs of divine protection for Christians'.⁵ These words composed by a well-informed subordinate of Manuel, John Kinnamos, probably convey the message intended for Louis and other crusaders: moral support for their warfare against the Turks but also a warning for anyone—including crusaders—harbouring hostile intent towards the Byzantines themselves. That possession of the instruments spelt legitimate tenure of supreme authority on Christ's behalf comes out most clearly from where several ended up after the Latin emperors were eventually forced to part

³ Macrides, 'New Constantine', 23–4 and n. 55. See also eadem, *Le Pseudo-Kodinos* (Paris, forthcoming); R. Macrides *et al.*, (eds. and tr.), *Pseudo-Kodinos: The Constantinopolitan Court Offices* (Farnham, forthcoming).

⁴ A. Eastmond, *Art and Identity in Thirteenth-Century Byzantium* (Aldershot, 2004), 15, 27–46. The Laskarid emperors in western Asia Minor, too, had sought to give their authority architectural form: H. Buchwald, 'Laskarid Architecture', *JÖB* 28 (1979), 289–96.

⁵ John Kinnamos, *Epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Manuele Comnenis gestarum*, ed. A. Meineke, CSHB (Bonn, 1836), 83; see also tr. C. M. Brand, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus by John Cinnamus* (New York, 1976), 69.

with them: La Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, constructed by King Louis IX to accommodate these marks of Christ's time on earth, and to bolster his own claim to be Christ's current representative.⁶ Another relic from the church of the Pharos which Louis acquired was the rod of Moses, symbol of the quasi-priestly leadership which pious emperors rightfully exercised.⁷ From 1239 on these relics—virtual 'securities' for Christian monarchy—began to arrive in Paris. By this time countless other, less renowned, relics from Constantinople were in the west, and reliquaries utilizing Byzantine models by way of authenticating their contents' ancient eastern provenance proliferated.⁸

Despite this haemorrhaging, Constantinople's reputation for relics continued to ride high among eastern Christians. Paradoxically this holds true even of relics most closely associated with imperial authority and shipped to the west during the Latin occupation. 'Strangely', as G. Majeska put it, 'many of these relics reappeared in Constantinople (although sometimes in new homes)' after 1261!⁹ The instruments of the Passion were, in the fourteenth century, kept not, as had once been the case, in the emperor's palace complex but at the monastery of St George of the Mangana. According to Stephen of Novgorod, they were safeguarded under the emperor's seal, being only unsealed in Holy Week and taken to St Sophia for veneration by the faithful. Stephen himself venerated them at Easter 1349 (or possibly 1348).¹⁰ As is well-known, relics of the True Cross and other items were the staples of imperial diplomacy in the late fourteenth century, reaching a climax in what J. W. Barker termed the 'reliquary diplomacy' of Manuel II Palaiologos; S. Mergiali-Sahas has expounded the workings of this diplomacy in greater detail.¹¹ Yet, the relics of Christ himself, St John the Baptist, and other pre-eminent saints rematerialized in Constantinople without any of the fanfare accompanying Michael VIII's restoration of churches and monasteries. George

⁶ J. Durand and M.-P. Laffitte (eds.), *Le Trésor de la Sainte-Chapelle* (Paris, 2001), 52–8, 61–8, 82–4, 86–7; C. Billot, 'Des Reliques de la Passion dans le royaume de France', in J. Durand and B. Flusin (eds.), *Byzance et les reliques du Christ* (Paris, 2004), 240, 248.

⁷ Durand and Laffitte, *Le Trésor*, 88–9; G. Dagron, *Emperor and Priest*, tr. J. Birrell (Cambridge, 2003), 84, 98, 216–17.

⁸ Durand and Laffitte, *Le Trésor*, 52–6; H. A. Klein, 'Eastern Objects and Western Desires: Relics and Reliquaries between Byzantium and the West', *DOP* 58 (2004), 304–6; idem, *Byzanz, der Westen und das 'Wahre' Kreuz* (Wiesbaden, 2004).

⁹ G. Majeska, 'Russian Pilgrims and the Relics of Constantinople', in A. M. Lidov (ed.), *Восточнохристианские реликвии: Eastern Christian Relics* (Moscow, 2003), 390.

¹⁰ G. Majeska (ed and tr.), *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, DC, 1984), 28–31, 34–5, 216–17, 343, 366–9, and n. 47. Other relics of the Passion were kept at the Pantanasse monastery which was, like St George of the Mangana, an imperial foundation: *ibid.* 36–7, 377–8.

¹¹ J. W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus, 1391–1425* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1969), 265, 408; S. Mergiali-Sahas, 'Byzantine Emperors and Holy Relics: Use, and Misuse, of Sanctity and Authority', *JÖB* 51 (2001), 41–60; eadem, 'An Ultimate Wealth for Inauspicious Times: Holy Relics in Rescue of Manuel II Palaeologus' Reign', *B* 76 (2006), 264–75.

Pachymeres, describing Michael's munificence towards St Sophia, states that 'he restored the holy sanctuary to a more glorious state with sacred textiles and vessels'.¹² But not a word from Pachymeres about donations of *relics*. Michael himself is likewise silent, when he recounts his actions upon entering the city and his works of restoration.¹³ Equally, relics do not seem to have featured prominently in Michael VIII's diplomatic gift-giving, judging by our sources' apparent silence. In accordance with the treaty of Nymphaion (1261), Michael sent the Genoese not a relic but silks woven in a Byzantine workshop and bearing Latin inscriptions. One, still extant, shows Michael being guided by St Laurence together with his name-saint, Archangel Michael, into Genoa's cathedral.¹⁴ The Genoese had, according to Manuel Holobolos, specifically requested a textile bearing the emperor's image, to be 'a firm defence against our foes'.¹⁵ Presumably custodianship of relics did not then rank high among Michael VIII's attributes.

There are a number of reasons why relics may have meant less to Michael VIII, the 'New Constantine', who cast himself as 'the instrument' of God's will in accomplishing the apparently impossible and thereby evoking the first Constantine.¹⁶ The feat of recovering the 'new Zion and the New Jerusalem' was wondrous in itself: possession of Constantinople was, in effect, nine-tenths of lawful rulership for Michael. Such considerations go some way towards explaining Michael VIII's attention to restoration works in the city and to ceremonial, in contrast with the silence enshrouding the resurrection of the relics. Byzantine historiography recounting the events of 1204 is sparse, scarcely any narrative being independent of the accounts of Niketas Choniates or George Akropolites.¹⁷ Of these two writers, only Choniates mentions relics, and he represents them as being desecrated rather than abducted.¹⁸ If the

¹² George Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, ed. A. Failler, (French) tr. V. Laurent, CFHB 24 (Paris, 1984), i. 232–3; Talbot, 'Restoration', 251.

¹³ *Ius graecoromanum*, ed. J. Zepos and P. Zepos (Athens, 1931), i. 665; D. J. Geanakoplos, 'The Byzantine Recovery of Constantinople from the Latins in 1261', repr. in his *Constantinople and the West* (Madison, Wis., 1989), 175–7, 184.

¹⁴ A. Paribeni, 'Il pallio di San Lorenzo a Genova', in A. Iacobini and M. della Valle (eds.), *L'arte di Bisanzio e l'Italia al tempo dei Paleologi, 1261–1453* (Rome, 1999), 232–4 and n. 29, fig. 2; A. R. Calderoni Masetti, 'A Genova', in G. Wolf et al. (eds.), *Mandylion: Intorno al 'Sacro Volto', da Bisanzio a Genova* (Milan, 2004), 45.

¹⁵ Manuel Holobolos, *Orationes*, ed. M. Treu (Programm des Königlichen Victoria-Gymnasiums, Potsdam, 1906–7), i. 46. I am most grateful to Ida Toth for referring me to the passage in this oration and for her exegesis. See also Macrides, 'New Constantine', 34–5.

¹⁶ *Ius graecoromanum*, i. 659–60, 662, 665–6; Geanakoplos, 'Byzantine Recovery', 178, 183, 187–8.

¹⁷ G. Prinzing, 'Der vierte Kreuzzug in der späteren Historiographie und Chronistik der Byzantiner', in P. Piatti (ed.), *The Fourth Crusade Revisited: Atti della Conferenza Internazionale nell'ottavo centenario della IV Crociata, 1204–2004* (Rome, 2008), 275–307.

¹⁸ Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J.–L. van Dieten, CFHB 11 (Berlin and New York, 1975), i. 573, ll. 7–8; tr. H. J. Magoulias, *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates* (Detroit, 1984), 315.

Latins' removal of relics was not foremost among Byzantine grievances a couple of generations later, this too could have discouraged Michael VIII and Andronikos II from making much of the relics' resurrection. In any case, a further consideration may have weighed with them. Relics, some supposedly Christ-related, played a part in the political culture of several other eastern Christian regimes from the mid-thirteenth century onwards. Thus the emperor of Trebizond, Manuel I Grand Komnenos (1238–63), commissioned a reliquary for a fragment of the True Cross, as an enamel inscription on the cover declares. A Serbian ruler, probably Stefan Uroš II Milutin (1282–1321), followed his predecessors' example by donating a fragment of the True Cross to a church.¹⁹ The Bulgarians, for their part, regarded the environs of Constantinople as a source of potent relics. Soon after defeating Theodore Angelos at Klokotnitsa in 1230, Ivan II Asen acquired from the city's Latin rulers the relics of St Paraskeve; he had them translated to Trnovo, in hopes of gaining her protection for his capital.²⁰ And in 1325 a silver gilt reliquary was fashioned in the shape of the right arm of St Nicholas; it also served to proclaim the legitimacy of the king of Armenian Cilicia, Oshin, who had effectively usurped the throne five years before.²¹

To contrast systematically the stances towards relics of early Palaiologan emperors and of other contemporary eastern Christian rulers is not feasible here. Nor is this the place for a comparison of the appetite for and responses to Constantinopolitan relics on the part of eastern Christians and of westerners.²² Instead, what I want to explore in this chapter is a certain pattern amidst the jumbled evidence and sudden turns of events of the fourteenth century, a pattern which betokens the resilience of the Byzantine imperial-ecclesiastical complex. On the one hand, as we have observed, is the apparent cautiousness of the emperors in proclaiming patronage of, or personal association with, relics and their forbearance from using them in imperial ceremonial. The instruments of the Passion were locked away, with the emperor and patriarch granting access to them only in Holy Week. Neither these nor other

¹⁹ A. Frolov, *La Relique de la vraie croix* (Paris, 1961), nos. 661, 570, 571; Eastmond, *Art and Identity*, 57–9 and fig. 28.

²⁰ The relics were translated from Kallikrateia, a few miles west of Constantinople: A. Külzer, *Ostthrakien (Europe)*, TIB 12 (Vienna, 2008), 424–5; S. Kozhukarov, 'Неизвестен летописен разказ от времето на Иван Асен II', repr. in his, *Проблеми на Старобългарската поезия*, (Sofia, 2004), i. 314, 316–17, 320–2; T. Stepanov 'Towns, Capital Cities, and Kingdoms, or about Some Metamorphoses of the Heavenly Protection in South-Eastern Europe, 12th–17th Century', in G. Kazakov and T. Stepanov (eds.), *Mediaeval Urbanism: Memory-Sacrality-Traditions (Средновековен урбанизъм: намет-сакралност-традиции)* (Sofia, 2007), 164–5.

²¹ A. Ballian, 'Liturgical Implements', in H. C. Evans (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and Power* (New York, 2004), 136–7.

²² See L. James, 'Dry Bones and Painted Pictures: Relics and Icons in Byzantium', in Lidov (ed.), *Восточнохристианские реликвии: Eastern Christian Relics*, 52; Majeska 'Russian Pilgrims', 394–6.

relics loomed large in earlier Palaiologan ceremonial, judging by the paucity of references to them in Pseudo-Kodinos's *Treatise*.²³ On the other hand, 'holy things', wondrous phenomena, and processions involving icons seem to have been legion in Constantinople in the generations following the arrival of the 'New Constantine' in the city. If early Palaiologan emperors were generally cautious in their handling of relics, this may have been precisely because so many things were now deemed holy, an emanation from or enjoying privileged access to the divine. Indeed, some relics, especially the mortal remains of persons who had crossed the Palaiologan regime, may have been 'hot potatoes' for the imperial and ecclesiastical authorities, purveying unauthorized blessings with potential to subvert. Relics of long-established saints and contact-relics associated with Christ himself were kept at the imperial court in the earlier fourteenth century. But they were largely for private devotions rather than constant display or ceremonial. Nonetheless, at the same time Byzantine church leaders, under challenge from the Latin church and the advance of Muslim dominion, attended quite carefully to the needs of far-flung Orthodox populations; the emperors were also closely involved, a wide-ranging pastoral role being corroborative of their claim to be carrying on the task of the original Constantine. The patriarchate, for all its confrontations with individual emperors, was still committed to 'empire', and usually willing to put its spiritual authority to work—essentially in the emperor's cause—in faraway lands like Rus. For their part the Rus seem to have been disposed to believe that Tsargrad ('Emperor-town') and its leaders enjoyed special access to the divine (see below, p. 75). These facets of Byzantium's role as 'exemplary centre', with ecclesiastical authorities still liaising with the imperial government *vis-à-vis* outsiders, deserve attention, even if they are familiar to specialists in Byzantium's relations with its northern neighbours. So does the fact that, once the imperial government's material resources shrank drastically in the mid-fourteenth century, it began to depart from earlier Palaiologan practice and became, once again, a dispenser of relics that had touched Christ and of icons transmitting divine features. Manuel II Palaiologos's 'reliquary diplomacy' may have been a desperate last fling of the dice. But its credibility says something for the discerning piety of his forebears, as well as for the tenacity of the 'demand' for imperially endorsed relics among other Christian societies.

By way of amplifying these opening remarks, one may start by elucidating the term 'exemplary centre'. It is used by anthropologists to denote a locus of allegiance whose ruling or religious elite possesses outstanding cultural and

²³ Crosses feature in various ceremonies without, however, being treated as relics or associated with particular relics; icons are a fairly constant feature: see Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. and French tr. J. Verpeaux (Paris, 1966), e.g. 200–2, 221–4, 239–41, 262 (crosses); 189, 191, 194, 196, 227–8, 231 (icons). I am grateful to Ruth Macrides for counsel here.

spiritual kudos rather than military power, although such power may have existed in the past, and material abundance—past or present—is usually in evidence. The centre proclaims its own culturo-religious hegemony. But its rites, of worship, rituals of rulership, and also its normative values expressed symbolically or in written form, are considered admirable, worth copying or at least nominal deference by the elites of other, outlying societies. Relations may be adversarial, but more often they involve affiliations, as the elites seek crafted goods, insignia of authority, religious rites and, ultimately, favour from the gods who are held responsible for the centre's well-being. Clifford Geertz and, more recently, Mary Helms have formulated the concepts of an exemplary or superordinate centre to which various other elites attach themselves, essentially voluntarily yet sometimes committing themselves to specific forms of doctrine and liturgy.²⁴ Such concepts offer theoretical and empirical support for Obolensky's vision of 'the Byzantine Commonwealth', and they are congruent with Treitinger's study of the ideal order conjured up by imperial ceremonial.²⁵ Quite a close analogy comes from a city in Highland Mexico, Teotihuacan ('Place where men became gods'). Teotihuacan's politico-military heyday ended abruptly in AD 550, when it was sacked and burnt. Far from this terminating the city's role as a sacral centre, it was almost the beginning of Teotihuacan's career as a source of inspiration for subsequent Mayan dynasties and, much later, for the Aztecs too. In Elizabeth Boone's words, the Aztecs venerated Teotihuacan as the place where 'the gods first sacrificed themselves'; the Aztecs also 'knew the ancient Teotihuacan to be the place where government as they knew it was established, where rulers were installed for the first time, where the first laws were made'.²⁶ Teotihuacan became 'an archetypal city' in Mesoamerica, 'whose art, architecture, and ideology most inspired others' and prompted painstaking copying of the dimensions and decoration of various structures, notably the Sun Pyramid and its frontal platform.²⁷

Parallels can be drawn between the aftermath of the sack of Teotihuacan in 550 and the veneration for Constantinople as a sacred place, for its shrines and even for their overseers after the Latin conquest of 1204. The accounts of

²⁴ C. Geertz, *Negara* (Princeton, 1980); M. W. Helms, *Craft and the Kingly Ideal* (Austin, Tex., 1993).

²⁵ D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth* (London, 1971); O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell* (Jena, 1938, repr. Darmstadt, 1956).

²⁶ E. Boone, 'Venerable Place of Beings: The Aztec Understanding of Teotihuacan', in D. Carrasco *et al.* (eds.), *Mesoamerica's Classic Heritage: from Teotihuacan to the Aztecs* (Boulder, Colo. 2000), 387.

²⁷ W. L. Fash *et al.*, 'The House of New Fire at Teotihuacan and its Legacy in Mesoamerica', in W. L. Fash and L. López Luján (eds.), *The Art of Urbanism* (Washington, DC, 2009), 201–5, 210, 212–13, 221–2; to what extent relics were extracted from Teotihuacan remains to be investigated. I am very grateful to Alexandre Tokovinine for a prepublication copy of this study, and for bibliographical help.

fourteenth-century Rus travellers bear witness to demand for access to the holy there, on the part of outlying Orthodox peoples. The Rus appreciated the wonders—including miracles of practical value such as healing—regularly performed by relics and icons alike and, so to speak, wrote themselves into the script. Thus, for instance, a text depicts Patriarch Athanasios' appointment of Peter to be metropolitan of Rus as the work of the Holy Spirit: 'fragrance' filled St Sophia; 'many faithful people saw his [Peter's] face, shining like the sun'; and Athanasios handed Peter the icon of the Mother of God which Peter's rival had brought to Constantinople, just as the Mother of God—appearing through her icon—had forewarned the rival during his voyage to Byzantium. The text's author, a Muscovite writing just after Metropolitan Peter's death in 1326, takes for granted that Constantinople is not only the place where metropolitans are appointed through the Holy Spirit but also where complaints against a metropolitan's conduct should be lodged.²⁸ In 1339, at the request of Peter's Byzantine-born successor and after reading his account of Peter's posthumous miracles, the patriarch approved liturgical veneration of Peter as a saint.²⁹ Subsequently, a Rus visitor to Constantinople, Ignatios of Smolensk, saw fit to record the coronation rites of Manuel Palaiologos in 1392, detailing the order of service of the liturgy together with the vestments of the emperors and other participants.³⁰

The Rus's regard for Constantinople may be regarded as exceptional, reflecting their church's direct subordination to the Constantinopolitan patriarchate. Their geocultural circumstances differed from those of the Bulgarians and Serbs, and still more so from the western Christians who did not owe their forms of religious doctrine and worship specifically to Byzantium. The accounts of western visitors to Constantinople of the fourteenth and fifteenth century are briefer than those of Rus visitors and say nothing about the robe and girdle of the Virgin kept at Blachernai, perhaps because specimens were then in the west. Yet they still prayed before the Passion relics in the churches where they normally resided or in St Sophia at Easter, even though the relics were now supposedly in La Sainte-Chapelle.³¹ According to the late fourteenth-century pilgrim, Nicolas de Martoni, 'many beautiful relics and the bodies of the saints are said to have been' in the city's churches since

²⁸ Makarii, *История русской церкви*, ed. A. V. Nazarenko et al. (Moscow, 1995), iii. 515. On the text's authorship and date: V. A. Kuchkin, "Сказание о смерти митрополита Петра", *Труды отдела древнерусской литературы*, 18 (1962), 64–7.

²⁹ *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, ed. and German tr. H. Hunger, O. Kresten, E. Kisliger, and C. Cupane CFHB 19 (Vienna, 1995), ii. 164–7; J. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia* (Cambridge, 1981), 156.

³⁰ Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 104–13. See also S. W. Reinert, 'What the Genoese Cast upon Helena Dragash's Head: Coins Not Confecti', *BF* 20 (1994), 244–6. For the latter reference I am grateful to Ruth Macrides.

³¹ Majeska, 'Russian Pilgrims', 395–6.

Constantine the Great's time.³² And in 1363 a self-styled former physician of Innocent VI, Pietro dei Pestagalli, travelled to the 'God-protected and God-glorifying Constantinople', where he bought from Patriarch Kallistos I a certified assortment of relics, symbols of Christ's Passion among them.³³ What is striking is that, for all the depredations of 1204, fairly well-informed Italians should have thought such relics worth collecting, even if some traded on the credulousness of others.

A second point can be made briefly. If Byzantium's imperial-ecclesiastical complex based at Constantinople constituted an exemplary centre, it was far from passive after 1204. In fact the patriarchate seems to have been 'kick-started' by competitive Latin churchmen and their installation on its home ground. Senior Byzantine churchmen based at Nicaea had also to cope with rivalry from Bulgarian and Serb hierarchs and, for a while, with the emergence of a 'quasi-patriarchate' at Ochrid.³⁴ This gave them all the more reason to provide personnel and active leadership for the Christian communities and sees in eastern Anatolia, where towns such as Caesarea, Sebasteia, and Melitene still had substantial and prosperous populations of Christians.³⁵ Experience garnered from this, and also the need to burnish their ecumenical credentials against Rome's through laying claim to numerous congregations, led patriarchs from Germanos II onwards³⁶ to attend closely to Orthodox congregations in far-flung places. They seem, more often than not, to have been responsive to changes in local circumstances, communicating with vigorous local metropolitans, and promptly sending emissaries to report on new situations. The *Notitiae Episcopatum*, especially when studied together

³² Nicolas de Martoni, *Liber peregrinationis ad loca sancta*, ed. L. Le Grand, 577–669 (text), in L. Le Grand, 'Relation du pèlerinage à Jérusalem de Nicolas de Martoni', *Revue de l'Orient latin*, 3 (1895), 643; Mergiali-Sahas, 'Ultimate Wealth', 264–5.

³³ *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi Sacra et Profana*, ed. F. Miklosich and J. Müller (Vienna, 1860–90), v. 273–5; P. V. Claverie, 'Les Acteurs du commerce des reliques à la fin des croisades', *Le Moyen Âge*, 114 (2008), 599–600 and n. 34.

³⁴ M. Angold, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni 1081–1261* (Cambridge, 1995), 518–38; D. G. Angelov, *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium, 1204–1330* (Cambridge, 2007), 353–4; C. N. Constantinides, *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries 1204–ca.1310* (Nicosia, 1982), 7–27; G. Prinzing, 'Das Papsttum und der orthodox geprägte Südosten Europas 1180–1216', in E.-D. Hehl *et al.* (eds.), *Das Papsttum in der Welt des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 2002), 163–74; G. Prinzing, 'A Quasi-Patriarch in the State of Epiros: The Autocephalous Archbishop of "Boulgaria" (Ohrid) Demetrios Chomatenos', *ZRVI* 41 (2004), 165–82.

³⁵ D. Korobeinikov, 'Orthodox Communities in Eastern Anatolia in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, I. The Two Patriarchates: Constantinople and Antioch', *Al-Masaq*, 15 (2003), 200–2; *idem*, 'Orthodox Communities in Eastern Anatolia in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, II. The Time of Troubles', *Al-Masaq*, 17 (2005), 4–6, 10–11, 14–18.

³⁶ For Germanos's concern with affairs in Rus and congregations outside Nicaean imperial dominion, see *Les Regestes des actes du patriarchat de Constantinople*, ed. V. Grunel, V. Laurent, and J. Darrouzès (Paris, 1932–91), iv, nos. 1247, 1257; M. Nystazopoulou, 'Ο "Ἰλλανικός" τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ἰλλανίας Θεοδώρου...', *EEBS* 33 (1964), 270–8; Angold, *Church and Society*, 520–1, 533–5, 553; S. A. Ivanov, *Византийское миссионерство* (Moscow, 2003), 264–6.

with the extant patriarchal register of the fourteenth century, show how responsive the imperial-ecclesiastical complex was to conditions beyond the emperor's dominion—creating, merging, and unbundling sees according to geopolitical realities, thereby encouraging Orthodox congregations where they looked to be under pressure. Besides the evidence from Anatolia,³⁷ one could cite examples from the Golden Horde's capital at Sarai on the lower Volga,³⁸ various parts of Caucasia, and the Crimea.³⁹ It is no accident that the senior imperial and patriarchal official George Pachymeres provides a full description of the Mongol lifestyle together with a 'who's who' of political leaders north of the Black Sea as far as Sarai.⁴⁰

Here we shall note just one example of the patriarchate's flexibility and ability to tap into economic 'hotspots' developed by the Italians and other non-Byzantine traders, the case of Vicina, whose see was raised to metropolitan status some time in the later thirteenth century.⁴¹ The town, occupying a kind of island-site in the Danube delta, constituted what has been termed 'a Byzantine enclave in the empire of the Tatars' after Michael VIII recovered dominion, probably through an agreement with Khan Nogai.⁴² Vicina seems to have been one of the richest sees of the time, its wealth deriving, directly or

³⁷ Korobeinikov, 'Orthodox Communities, I', 199, 201–2, 205; idem, 'Orthodox Communities, II', 8–9.

³⁸ *Notitiae Episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, ed. J. Darrouzès (Paris, 1981), no. 17.148; Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, 45 and n. 31, 46, 49–53, 70–1. The bishop kept pace with the khanate upon its move to New Sarai (modern Tsarev, some 125km north of Old Sarai), judging by finds of metal icons and crosses there for the second half of the 14th cent.: *ET* ix. 42 (T. T. Allsen); Ivanov, *Византийское миссионерство*, 284–7.

³⁹ A metropolitanate 'τῶν Καυκασίων' was instituted and subsequently, in 1356, Metropolitan Symeon of Alania was accused—besides other offences—of unlawfully appointing a 'bishop' to this metropolitanate. Symeon's plea that he had merely made an appointment to a suffragan see 'named something like Καυκασία' was deemed specious. Even so, the episode implies competition for Orthodox souls north of the Caucasus, and also vigilance on the part of both the patriarchate and 'traders' shuttling between Caucasia and capital: *Das Register des Patriarchats*, iii. 214–17; O. Kresten, 'Die Affäre des Metropoliten Symeon von Alania im Spiegel des Patriarchatsregisters von Konstantinopel', *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse* 137 (2002), 24–5 and nn. 117, 123. See also *Notitiae Episcopatum*, no. 17.84; no. 18.84; no. 19.91; p. 182 (introduction); L. G. Khrushkova, 'Древнейший христианский центр Кавказа: Пятиус–Пицунда–Бичвинта', *Vizantiiskii vremennik*, 67(92) (2008), fig. 1 on 235, 242–3. For the Crimea, one may note a case before the patriarchal synod in 1317/18, the metropolitan of Sougdaia's complaint that patriarchal officials (exarchs) based in the see of Gotthia were appropriating churches and congregations located within his diocese. The synod referred the dispute to 'the neighbouring metropolitans' of Alania, Vicina, and Zichia–Matracha for 'on-the-spot' investigation: *Das Register des Patriarchats*, i. 344–5; *Regestes*, v, no. 2082. See also below, n. 49.

⁴⁰ A. E. Laiou, 'On Political Geography: The Black Sea of Pachymeres', in R. Beaton and C. Roueché (eds.), *The Making of Byzantine History: Studies Dedicated to Donald M. Nicol* (Aldershot, 1993), 94–9, 106, 118–21.

⁴¹ *Notitiae Episcopatum*, no. 15.189; no. 17.98; pp. 170–1, 182 (introduction).

⁴² *ODB* iii. 2165 (A. Kazhdan). Controversy has raged over Vicina's location: strong arguments for identifying it with modern Nufâru were made by G. Atanasov, 'La Vicina médiévale et la forteresse de Nufâru', *Études Balkaniques* (1994), no. 1, 114–28 (map on 117).

indirectly, from the activities of the Genoese, who frequented the emporium in the later thirteenth and earlier fourteenth century. Around 1305 Patriarch Athanasios I cited Vicina's metropolitan among prelates who misused their wealth and meddled in ecclesiastical affairs in the capital; he had sided with Athanasios's foe, Patriarch John XII, shortly beforehand.⁴³ Yet such metropolitans could perform practical services for the empire, as Luke of Vicina did in 1301, when he acted as intermediary for a large group of Alans who were at a loss after the death of their Tatar employer, Nogai. Judging by our main source, George Pachymeres, the Alans treated the metropolitan as the representative of the emperor, Andronikos II, and this he proved to be, negotiating their entry into the emperor's service.⁴⁴ The arrival of badly-needed military manpower was regarded 'as a kind of *deus ex machina*' even if, longer term, some proved wayward.⁴⁵

This example of the practical services an outlying metropolitan could perform for the empire partly explains the close interest of Palaiologan emperors in the order of precedence of sees and their histories. It is reflected in the *Notitiae* of J. Darrouzès's collection, *Notitia* 17, seemingly drawn up by a certain Menas at Andronikos II's command, collates a see's past with its present ranking number, signalling promotions and demotions. Another, *Notitia* 19, bears Andronikos III's name in its heading. Darrouzès observes that these *Notitiae* 'are the only ones to have been attributed by name to a particular emperor'.⁴⁶ The Constantinopolitan patriarchate's monitoring of the condition of all subordinate sees could jar both with the emperor's right to raise the status of sees and with his strategic interest in securing outposts or sympathetic local Orthodox populations and rulers beyond his borders. In fact the emperor's 'longstanding prerogative' to promote or merge sees and to determine ecclesiastical boundaries features in the attempt at demarcation between imperial and patriarchal jurisdiction made in a synodal act promulgated in, probably, 1380. So, too, does the requirement that every metropolitan should, just before being ordained, pledge to be 'in every respect the true and sincere friend of the emperor' and ever mindful of 'the interests of the crown and *Romania*'.⁴⁷ Patriarchal and imperial perspectives were not identical, and

⁴³ Athanasios I, *Correspondence*, ed. and tr. A.-M. Talbot, CFHB 7 (Washington, DC, 1975), 96–7; *Regestes*, iv, no. 1613; On Luke, see E. Trapp *et al.* (eds.), *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, vi (Vienna, 1983), no. 15129.

⁴⁴ Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, i, 336–9. See also Nikephoros Gregoras, *Historia*, ed. L. Schopen, CSHB (Bonn, 1829), iv, 204–5.

⁴⁵ Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, iv, 338–9. For the Alans' subsequent doings, see A. E. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), 162–3, 170.

⁴⁶ *Notitiae Episcopatum*, 179–80, 181 (introduction). Byzantium's political disarray and shifting centres of alternative power prompted revisions of status, esp. in the 1340s: *ibid.* 180, 189–90. The emperors' very efforts to re-establish order are noteworthy.

⁴⁷ V. Laurent, 'Les Droits de l'empereur en matière ecclésiastique: L'Accord de 1380/82', *REB* 13 (1955), 15–16; *Regestes*, vi, no. 2699; P. Guran, 'Patriarche hésychaste et empereur



Map 1. The 'reach' of the Constantinopolitan imperial-ecclesiastical complex in the late Byzantine centuries.

divergences could widen when emperors, materially debilitated, sought rapprochement with the Latin west. Yet this synodal act also bespeaks a certain paradoxical collegiality, a willingness to sidestep such fundamental questions as the emperor's right to appoint the patriarch.⁴⁸ The patriarchate's attentiveness to fluctuations beyond the borders is evinced by, for example, its dispatch

latinophone: *L'Accord de 1380 sur les droits impériaux en matière ecclésiastique*, *RESEE* 39 (2001), 55–7; Angelov, *Imperial Ideology*, 357.

⁴⁸ For the act's omissions, see Guran, 'Patriarche hésychaste', 60–1.

to the Crimea of an *homme de confiance*, Matthew; he was to resume patriarchal oversight of the local prelates in his capacity as exarch. Matthew visited the city of Theodoro-Mangup shortly after its devastation by Tamerlane in 1395. The verses he subsequently composed describe the deserted city's natural defences and fortifications, while praising God who had created the city and, as a just judge, punished its inhabitants for their 'many transgressions'.⁴⁹ Matthew propounded spiritual regeneration and faith in the Creator's design; yet his powers of observation converged with imperial interest in a region of strategic importance, where Greek-speaking elites lingered on and local mission-work was afoot.⁵⁰

Reorganization of sees was just one facet of Palaiologan interest in church affairs. Cults of saints and their celebration in the public spaces of Constantinople were of concern from the first. The icon of the Virgin Hodegetria preceded Michael VIII on the day he entered the city, 15 August, 1261, the festival of the Virgin's Assumption into Heaven, with overtones of resurrection and metamorphosis. The icon, supposedly painted from life by St Luke and revered as 'unconquerable general' of Michael's army, 'was a staple of Constantinopolitan ritual thereafter'.⁵¹ Details of the processions—'virtually unrecorded by Byzantine writers'⁵²—come from foreign visitors. Stephen of Novgorod describes the Tuesday procession of the 'very large' icon, which pushes its bearer 'this way and that around the monastery enclosure' and 'very powerfully turns him about, for he does not know where the icon is taking him'.⁵³ A feast-day instituted early in the fourteenth century celebrated the inauguration of the renovated church of the Mother of God at Pege, just outside Constantinople; the feast-day was on the Friday after Easter. From around this time, the Virgin there was dubbed the 'Life-receiving Source' ('Zoodochos Pege'), and the term was attached to a specific iconographic

⁴⁹ *Acta et Diplomata Graeca*, ii. 248, 258; *Regestes*, vi, no. 3003; *ODB* ii. 1316 (A.–M. Talbot); H.-V. Beyer, 'Die Erzählung des Matthaïos von der Stadt Theodoro', *BZ* 96 (2003), 33–55 (text and German tr.); G. Prinzing, 'Byzantino–Mongolo–Turcica: Neue oder ergänzende Beobachtungen zu drei spätbyzantinischen Poemen', in K. Glykioti and D. Kinne (eds.), *Griechisch–Ελληνικά – Grekiska: Festschrift für Hans Ruge* (Frankfurt am Main, 2009), 194–201, 204–7 (text).

⁵⁰ Иванов, *Византийское миссионерство*, 283; *ODB* ii. 654–5 (O. Pritsak). The vitality of manuscript illumination in Crimean centres was noted by H. and H. Buschhausen, 'Die Halbinsel Krim, ein wenig beachtetes Zentrum der byzantinischen Buchmalerei im 14. Jahrhundert', in C. Moss and K. Kiefer (eds.), *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann* (Princeton, 1995), 339–43.

⁵¹ A. Weyl Carr, 'Images: Expressions of Faith and Power', in Evans, *Byzantium*, 148. See also N. P. Ševčenko, 'Servants of the Holy Icon', in Moss and Kiefer, *Byzantine East, Latin West*, 547–9; C. Angelidi and T. Papamastorakis, 'The Veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria and the Hodegon Monastery', in M. Vassilaki (ed.), *Mother of God* (Athens, 2000), 373–87; C. Angelidi and T. Papamastorakis, 'Picturing the Spiritual Protector: From Blachernitissa to Hodegetria', in M. Vassilaki (ed.), *Images of the Mother of God* (Aldershot, 2005), 216–17.

⁵² Ševčenko, 'Servants', 548.

⁵³ Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 36–7, 365.

type: the Virgin had her hands upraised and the Christ-child against her chest, with or without a miraculous spring. A mosaic depicting her was installed above Pege's holy spring, being reflected in the basin's waters; it was supposed to have restored the waters' miraculous properties (lost under Latin occupation). Within a generation, images of the Virgin of the Life-receiving Source were being painted in churches of the Serbs and the Rus. Their rapid spread would seem to show Andronikos II's success in revitalizing Constantinople as sacral centre, setting examples for other parts of the Orthodox world to follow.⁵⁴ He dedicated the entire month of August to the Virgin and, together with his grandson, Andronikos was responsible for introducing the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria into regular imperial ceremonial. Towards the end of Lent, the emperor would welcome the icon to the palace of Blachernai, where it stayed until Easter Sunday.⁵⁵ The concern of early Palaiologan emperors with saints' cults is registered in tighter procedures for determining who was worthy of veneration: the practice of canonization by synodal decree was introduced.⁵⁶

The regulations on canonization may have been in reaction to the stricter procedures of the western church, another instance of the Latins' stimulus to the Orthodox to get their own house in order. But there was probably another, more pressing, reason for emperors to try and regulate who might properly be venerated as a saint, and to assume proprietorship of such new cults as were authorized. T. Shawcross has pointed out that the relics of the newly dead could be subversive of the imperial establishment in times of controversy, when dissidents sought sacred rallying-points against emperors deemed illegitimate.⁵⁷ The instruments of the Passion were far from being the only relics to be kept under lock and key. The mortal remains of the arch-critic of Michael VIII's seizure of the throne, Patriarch Arsenios, were safeguarded in this way, in a casket in St Sophia, having been brought there in an imperial galley from the island of Prokonnesos early in Andronikos's reign. Shawcross argues that, in taking charge of the relics, Andronikos was not so much rehabilitating Arsenios as trying to prevent his cult from becoming a rallying-point for opponents of the regime.⁵⁸ St Sophia was an honourable resting-place for the patriarch, but it also gave the emperor a fair chance of

⁵⁴ N. Teteriatnikov, 'The Image of the Virgin Zoodochos Pege: Two Questions Concerning its Origin', in Vassilaki, *Images of the Mother of God*, 225–9, 231–3, pl. 15 and figs. 19.1, 19.2, 19.8; A.-M. Talbot, 'Epigrams of Manuel Philes on the Theotokos tes Peges and its Art', *DOP* 48 (1994), 135–8.

⁵⁵ Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 231; Angelidi and Papamastorakis, 'Veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria', 385; Angelidi and Papamastorakis, 'Picturing the Spiritual Protector', 216.

⁵⁶ R. Macrides, 'Saints and Sainthood in the Early Palaiologan Period', in S. Hackel (ed.), *The Byzantine Saint* (London, 1981), 83–6.

⁵⁷ T. Shawcross, 'In the Name of the True Emperor: Politics of Resistance After the Palaiologan Usurpation', *Byzantinoslavica*, 66 (2008), 203–27.

⁵⁸ Shawcross, 'In the Name', 222–3. The translation to St Sophia is recounted by Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, iii. 94–7.

maintaining control over goings-on; this was where the instruments of the Passion were venerated in Holy Week. Andronikos's installation of human remains in the Great Church marked a break with tradition, and he seems to have been trying to schedule high points of veneration around Easter, as with the feast-day celebrating the renovated church of the Mother of God at Pege.⁵⁹

Still more suggestive of the subversive potential of relics is the case of 'the body of the holy emperor Laskariasaf' which Stephen of Novgorod venerated in 1348 or 1349. The body was kept in what Stephen calls 'an imperial monastery', dedicated to St Demetrios, and standing by the sea.⁶⁰ Shawcross argues that this 'holy emperor' is none other than John IV Laskaris, whose exact date and place of death are uncertain. Her thesis rests partly on a fifteenth-century list of miraculous relics, and partly on the strong likelihood of the monastery being identifiable with one of the many houses Michael VIII restored; St Demetrios of the Palaiologoi had originally been founded by George Palaiologos in the twelfth century.⁶¹ In other words, Andronikos II, while going through the motions of atonement for his father's sins and honouring the 'martyrs' created by Michael's persecutions, would seem to have neutralized them, depriving potential insurgents of ready points of access to the holy, and to divine support. Even Michael's chief victim, John IV, ended up being honoured as 'holy', yet more or less securely ensconced in an imperial monastery. The circumstances in which John's body was transferred to the monastery of St Demetrios of the Palaiologoi are obscure, and this may be further testimony to Andronikos's discreet handling of relics. Not that all those venerated as saints had been sworn opponents of the Palaiologoi. Judging by the account of Ignatios of Smolensk, the shrine of Patriarch Athanasios was well worth visiting, and Ignatios states that he had 'kissed the relics of his body'. He also reports that Athanasios had received 'the patriarchal staff' from the Mother of God herself. There is, apparently, no mention of any such wonder in extant Byzantine *Lives* of Athanasios, and one may suppose Ignatios to be purveying oral information about the late patriarch he had picked up in the city.⁶²

Imperial court circles were susceptible to wonders, signs, and the powers of relics, as the verses of Manuel Philes attest. Ever in quest of court favour and general recognition in the earlier fourteenth century, he turned out countless verses about reliquaries and icons. Prosopography and subject-matter remain largely uncharted, but the verses clearly refract elite enthusiasm for relic-

⁵⁹ J. Wortley, 'Relics and the Great Church', *BZ* 99 (2006), 643–6.

⁶⁰ Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 38–9.

⁶¹ R. Janin, *Le Siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat œcuménique* (Paris, 1969), 92; Shawcross, 'In the Name', 218–21, 225–7.

⁶² Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 96–7, 273, and nn. 50, 51. On popular veneration of Athanasios after his death, see A.–M. Talbot, *Faith Healing in Late Byzantium* (Brookline, Mass., 1983), 20, 24 (introduction).

containers, icons, and their frames.⁶³ Besides celebrating Constantinople's stock of wonders—the 'footprint' of St Paul discovered at the Panachrantos monastery, or healing-miracles at the Virgin of Pege⁶⁴—Philes acclaims many newly fashioned reliquaries and newly painted icons, musing on the interrelationship between artistry and creation: 'the hand formed by Thee painted Thee, the wise Demiurge, the Craftsman'.⁶⁵ This was, presumably, what readers and hearers liked to hear; in fact, descriptive epigrams themselves had a part to play in intensifying the presence of the holy in images, endowing them with supernatural powers.⁶⁶ What Philes's verses pass over are relics liable to inspire controversy or doubt, the likes of Patriarch Arsenios. Considering that relics could so easily become 'hot potatoes' and the instruments of the Passion were under lock and key, such discretion is understandable, in keeping with our impression that relics were not integral to early Palaiologan ceremonial. The senior emperor of the day does not stand out as arch-hoarder or -dispenser of relics in Philes's literary landscape.

There are, nonetheless, hints of attempts to 'resurrect' approved items of veneration, although our reliance on the objects themselves rather than on literary sources makes questions of dating and imperial involvement harder to resolve. Foremost among these surviving objects is a copy of the *mandylion*, a palladium of Constantinople from the time of its arrival from Edessa until its loss during the Latin occupation. We can only deduce the *mandylion*'s 'resurrection' in Constantinople after 1261 from the existence of copies now to be found in Rome and in Genoa. The exact dating and origins of the latter are uncertain, but there is general agreement that its image of Christ's face was painted on cloth some time in the later thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries. It is likely that a master-copy reproducing the measurements and portraiture of the Edessan original was kept by the early Palaiologan emperors, and that the Genoese *mandylion* reflects this master-copy.⁶⁷ The *mandylion* did not, however, play a prominent part in Palaiologan ceremonial any more

⁶³ Investigation of Philes's *œuvre* is being undertaken by Marina Bazzani, for whose references and warnings I am grateful; she bears no responsibility for any Philes-related errors perpetrated above. See ODB iii, 1651 (A.–M. Talbot and A. Cutler).

⁶⁴ Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, ed. E. Miller (Paris, 1855) i. 198 (Paul's footprint), 9–10, 66–8, 72–4, etc.; Talbot, 'Epigrams', 147–64.

⁶⁵ Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, i. 96.

⁶⁶ E. Pietsch-Braounou, 'Manuel Philes und die übernatürliche Macht der Epigrammdichtung', in W. Hörandner and A. Rhoby (eds.), *Die kulturhistorische Bedeutung byzantinischer Epigrammen* (Vienna, 2008), 91–2. For an epigram, perhaps by Philes, inscribed on the revetted icon of the Virgin now in Athos's Vatopedi monastery: A. Rhoby and W. Hörandner, 'Beobachtungen zu zwei inschriftlich erhaltenen Epigrammen', *BZ* 100 (2007), 157–62; B. V. Pentcheva, 'Epigrams on Icons', in L. James (ed.), *Art and Text in Byzantine Culture* (Cambridge, 2007), 121–2.

⁶⁷ G. Wolf, 'Il volto che viaggia: premessa a un incontro', in Wolf *et al.*, *Mandylion*, 18–21; C. Dufour Bozzo, 'Trent'anni dopo: misteri svelati, misteri da svelare', *ibid.* 31–4, 37–8; Weyl Carr, 'Images, 149; G. Peers, *Sacred Shock* (University Park, Pa., 2004), 117–18; S. Origone,

than did other relics.⁶⁸ If our data for the 'resurrection' of the *mandylion* is largely circumstantial, the same goes for the crafting of reliquaries in imperial circles, impeding historical evaluation of them. Yet they testify to faith of a sort, and to imperial resilience.

The extant reliquaries associable with the Palaiologan court at Constantinople are very small, more suitable for wearing round the neck or on the body than for permanent display, or a role in ceremonial. They owe their survival to a turn of events with which neither Michael VIII, Andronikos II, nor even Andronikos III had to contend: the massive losses of population and the consequent shrinkage and dislocation of the remaining fiscal base inflicted by the Black Death from 1347 onwards; this compounded the dynastic strife, vulnerability to external powers, and circumscribed resources which the state apparatus had long endured. The catastrophe's contours are well-known, as is the evocative cessation of the striking of gold coin some time between 1354 and 1366; already, before the Black Death, Empress Anne of Savoy had pledged the crown jewels to Venice in return for a loan.⁶⁹ It can scarcely be accidental that around this time relics began to come onto the market in Constantinople, imperial provenance sometimes serving to vouch for their authenticity. We tend to learn mainly of those cases where such provenance was invoked, and the traffic in relics anyway had its own dynamics, independent of the financial predicament of the imperial government.⁷⁰ Yet the readiness of westerners still to regard the imperial court as a kind of gold standard is noteworthy in itself. So, too, is the fact that the Constantinopolitan patriarchate sent relics of 'new martyrs' to Rus, invoking the evangelism of the early church. Both emperors and patriarchs showed enterprise in exploiting outsiders' proclivities, appealing to the appetites or beliefs of individual westerners and northerners, and improvising in various ways.

'Giovanni V Paleologo e i Genovesi', in A. R. Calderoni Masetti *et al.* (eds.), *Intorno al Sacro Volto* (Venice, 2007), 111.

⁶⁸ This was so, although pictorial reliquaries and revetments on icons bridged the gap between artefact and relic, while revetments such as the Genoa *mandylion*'s affirmed the wonder-working qualities of the image encased and, even, Christ's presence. See H. Kessler, 'Le funzioni della cornice', in Wolf *et al.*, *Mandylion*, 61–7; J. Durand, 'Precious-Metal Icon Revetments', in Evans, *Byzantium*, 245–7; Weyl Carr, 'Images,' 146–7; Peers, *Sacred Shock*, 115, 122–3, 128–31.

⁶⁹ C. Morrisson, 'Monnaie et finances dans l'empire byzantin, X^e–XV^e siècle', in V. Kravari, J. Lefort, and C. Morrisson (eds.), *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin, II: VIII^e–XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1991), 311–15; P. Hetherington, 'The Jewels from the Crown: Symbols and Substance in the Later Byzantine Imperial Regalia', *BZ* 96 (2003), 157–63, repr. in his *Enamels, Crowns, Relics and Icons* (Farnham, 2008), no. III; A. E. Laiou, 'The Palaiologoi and the World Around Them', in J. Shepard (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire* (Cambridge, 2008), 809–10. For general background: D. M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453* (Cambridge, 1993, 2nd edn.), 216–42, 254–64.

⁷⁰ Claverie, 'Les Acteurs du commerce', 591–600.

A few examples may illustrate the involvement of palace and patriarchate in the diffusion of relics and holy artefacts from the mid-fourteenth century on, and the benefits sought from this. We have already noted the purchase of relics by Pietro dei Pestagalli from Patriarch Kallistos in 1363. Six or seven years earlier a Florentine merchant, Pietro di Giunta Torrigiani, had acquired in Constantinople a large assortment of relics. A detailed inventory was composed under the auspices of the papal nuncio, together with other senior western figures in Pera. Such was the weight placed on provenance from 'the imperial home' that two bishops consulted an empress, almost certainly Helena, the wife of John V Palaiologos.⁷¹ She declared 'with much sobbing' that they had been put on the market 'out of necessity', and that she mourned their loss more than anything else. Recording this, the inventory's composer noted the 'noble artistry' with which they had been 'honourably prepared . . . by emperors in times past with the utmost reverence'; their antiquity, 'evident from their befitting adornment' (i.e. the relic-holders), might have been warranty enough for the genuineness of the relics, but the churchmen had wanted to check with the empress herself that they were indeed 'from the imperial household'.⁷² Their authenticity, once this was confirmed, was taken for granted, their containers' antique ornamentation playing its part.

The technical and aesthetic qualities of the five reliquaries included in this transaction and still extant in Siena's hospital of Santa Maria della Scala are consistent with an imperial provenance. The scholar who first published the inventory and collated it with the reliquaries, P. Hetherington, proposed such a provenance.⁷³ Bought by a hospital syndic from Pietro di Giunta Torrigiani in Venice in May 1359, the reliquaries and the rest of the collection have been in the hospital ever since. The reliquaries, some incorporating earlier enamels and equipping them with sides and inscriptions, contained relics connected with Christ or, in the case of a purpose-built silver-gilt container inscribed with verses, part of St John Chrysostom's mouth or jawbone.⁷⁴ They seem to have been made or reconstituted in the early fourteenth century, judging by their stylistic and palaeographic traits; the verses on two of them recall the epigrams of Manuel Philes.⁷⁵ The reliquaries are very small. For example, a golden container of a drop of the Holy Blood is 57mm high (excluding its loop), 47mm wide, and 10mm deep, and it was designed to be worn as a pendant.⁷⁶ There is no reason to suppose that Empress Helena's grief was contrived. As Hetherington remarked, 'the crown jewels were regarded as in

⁷¹ P. Hetherington, 'A Purchase of Byzantine Relics and Reliquaries in Fourteenth-Century Venice', *Arte Veneta*, 37 (1983), 22, repr. in his *Enamels, Crowns*, no. VII.

⁷² *Ibid.* 21–2, 33 (text).

⁷³ *Ibid.* 31–2.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 15–17 and figs. 14–18 ('Reliquary D').

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 6–7, 17.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 1–4, 6, and figs. 1–3 ('Reliquary A').

some way more readily expendable than the relics', the latter being sold thirteen years after the crown jewels were pawned.⁷⁷

The Sienese reliquaries are, then, testimony to essentially private piety in earlier fourteenth-century court circles. Far from being intended for display or for 'export' to outsiders, they represent the reconstitution in a minor key of quality relics, some relating to Christ's Passion: besides the reliquary containing a drop of Holy Blood, the inscription of another refers to Christ's purple robe and sponge. Made or refashioned for members of the higher nobility, if not specifically for the Palaiologan household where they ended up, these containers seem attuned to the piety noted above in relation to Andronikos II's court, contrasting with the way in which the instruments of the Passion were exhibited before 1204. Comparable embellishment and exegesis was carried out on the fore-mentioned copy of the *mandylion*, which was furnished with a silver-gilt frame. This was added around the time that the reliquaries were made or refurbished, judging by the resemblance of the frame's filigree-work to that on another of the reliquaries. The reliquary (containing a piece of the True Cross) and the *mandylion*'s revetment were, Hetherington suggests, the work of a single master, intimating a date of 'perhaps 1335–45' for the frame.⁷⁸ On the frame are ten scenes in relief, accompanied by Greek inscriptions, telling the story of the *mandylion* from its origins to its stay in Edessa, and beyond. A persistent theme is the *mandylion*'s effectiveness in protecting its city of residence. The wall of Edessa features in every scene from the *mandylion*'s arrival there onwards, symbolizing both city and protectiveness. The role of bishops is also pronounced, judging by the part they play in these scenes. The final scene shows a miracle of healing during the *mandylion*'s voyage to the capital in 944, implying that Constantinople enjoyed its protection thereafter (pl. 6, Fig. 18).⁷⁹

The revetted *mandylion* was in John V Palaiologos's possession by 1362/3, when he made it over to the Genoese grandee Leonardo Montaldo. The latter,

⁷⁷ Hetherington, 'The Jewels from the Crown', 168; idem, 'A Purchase of Byzantine Relics', 32.

⁷⁸ P. Hetherington, 'The Frame of the *Sacro Volto* Icon in S. Bartolomeo degli Armeni, Genoa: The Reliefs and the Artist', *Cahiers archéologiques* 50 (2002), 16, repr. in his *Enamels, Crowns*, no. XIV. A manufacturing date slightly earlier or later in the 14th cent. is, however, conceivable: Durand, 'Precious-Metal Icon Revetments', 247; F. Dell'Acqua, 'Le quattro lamine di rivestimento in filigrana', in Wolf, *et al.*, *Mandylion*, 157–60; F. Dell'Acqua, 'La legatura del Cod. Gr. I,53 della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana: Confronti tecnico-stilistici con la cornice paleologa del *Mandylion* e altri oggetti affini', *ibid.* 186–7. See also Origone, 'Giovanni V', 110–11 and nn. 71, 83 on 114–15.

⁷⁹ This close-up is one of ten scenes executed in relief in gilded silver on the framework of the icon; it shows the translation of the *mandylion* from Edessa to Constantinople in 944, with the *mandylion* virtually rowing the boat. There are two bishops on board and an unidentified third person; we see the image healing a man who has been possessed of an evil spirit. Colour photos of the scenes on the icon's frame are also given in Wolf *et al.*, *Mandylion*, 49–59.

commanding galleys and *capitaneus* of Genoese possessions in Romania,⁸⁰ had instructions from Simon Boccanegra to keep order between Genoese and Venetians in the region of Tana; a Byzantine acquaintance described him as ‘καπέτανον and ποτεστάτην of the Genoese in Galata’.⁸¹ Reportedly, Montaldo received the *mandylion* and other valuables in return for freeing Turkish-occupied lands abutting the Black Sea, perhaps as a pledge for cash-payment never redeemed, perhaps as outright payment or gift.⁸² That the *mandylion*’s frame with its pictorial narrative had been commissioned by a member of the imperial household is likely, if unproven; the image’s location just before its transfer to Montaldo is anyway uncertain.⁸³ In any event, John’s bestowal of the *mandylion* was a mark of desperation, at a time when Patriarch Kallistos was selling symbols of the Passion to Pietro dei Pestagalli, and it served to recover lands from the Turks. This emblem of a God-protected city amounted to a historiatised relic, rather than being an imperial image of the type sought from Michael VIII a hundred years before. Yet Montaldo presumably expected the *mandylion* to serve comparable purposes, ‘a firm defence against our foes’, imperial provenance being still a kind of warranty. So long as outsiders harboured such expectations, a well-orchestrated imperial-ecclesiastical complex might transmute them into force of arms.

The outlooks of individual patriarchs and emperors were apt to differ and, as noted above, the two institutions did not see eye to eye on issues of jurisdiction or responsibility for outlying sees. Even so, the ‘commonality’ of church and empire was resoundingly affirmed by Patriarch Anthony IV in his oft-cited letter to Prince Vasili of Moscow in 1393.⁸⁴ The Rus, still tribute-payers and beholden to the leaders of the Golden Horde, were in

⁸⁰ Giorgio and Giovanni Stella, *Annales Genuenses*, ed. G. Petti Balbi, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 17/2 (Bologna, 1975), 157; Origone, ‘Giovanni V’, 109.

⁸¹ Origone, ‘Giovanni V’, 109 and n. 53 on 113.

⁸² Ibid. 110–11 and n. 68 on 114. That Montaldo secreted the *mandylion* in his chapel in Genoa could as well attest personal veneration as fear of claims from fellow-creditors.

⁸³ Hetherington’s position that the *mandylion*’s frame was commissioned from within the imperial household is tenable (‘Frame of the *Sacro Volto*’, 6, 10, 12–13). The *mandylion* could, however, have been in e.g. a monastery before being requisitioned for the transaction with Montaldo: Origone, ‘Giovanni V’, 110. The links between craftsmanship and the imperial household at Blachernai and other palaces cannot be addressed here. ‘State factories’ of the sort known earlier were not revived after 1204. Neither demand, resources, nor skills were sufficiently concentrated in an imperial nucleus, and most artefacts, if not textiles, were outsourced. See e.g. *ODB* ii. 774–5 (A. Kazhdan); K.–P. Matschke, ‘The Late Byzantine Urban Economy, Thirteenth–Fifteenth Centuries’, *EHB* ii. 491–3. ‘Weavers of imperial purple cloths’ were working in Thessalonica in the mid-14th cent.: Philotheos Kokkinos, ‘Λόγος εἰς Ἅγιον Γρηγόριον Παλαμάν’, in Philotheos Kokkinos, *Φιλοθέου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Κοκκίνου. Ἀγιολογικά ἔργα*, ed. D. G. Tsames (Thessalonica, 1985), 569; A.–M. Talbot, ‘The Miracles of Gregory Palamas by Philotheos Kokkinos’, in P. Stephenson (ed.), *The Byzantine World* (London, 2010), 236–47.

⁸⁴ *Acta et Diplomata Graeca*, ii. 188–92; *Regestes*, vi, no. 2931; partial tr. in Barker, *Manuel II*, 106–9; Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, 254–6.

no state to send warriors to the Bosphorus. Yet Prince Semen, Vasiliï's great-uncle, had sent ample funds for repairs to the roof of St Sophia, pledging yet more to finish the job,⁸⁵ and Rus visitors still regarded Tsargrad as enjoying special access to the divine. The patriarchate, acting in conjunction with the emperor, sought not merely to keep doctrine untainted and to maintain regular observance. It also bolstered its claim to lead the church worldwide through endorsing evangelization and recognizing new martyrdoms. Thus in 1374 the patriarchal envoy Kyprian brought to Constantinople remains of three Orthodox Christians put to death in Vilnius less than thirty years earlier by the pagan Grand Duke Olgerd. Patriarch Philotheos formally recognized them as martyrs, liturgical texts were composed, icons painted, and the relics installed in St Sophia.⁸⁶ Within three years fragments of these relics were heading north again, in an assortment that included particles of the True Cross, Athanasios of Alexandria, and the Forty Martyrs. In 1377 Byzantine patriarchal envoys presented the golden cross containing them to Sergei of Radonezh, the venerable and influential abbot of the Trinity monastery, north of Moscow. The cross survives, its Slavic inscription numbering among the contents 'the new Lithuanian martyrs', and it was probably made in Constantinople.⁸⁷ The gift to Sergei represented, at one level, an exercise in ecclesiastical politicking, an attempt to gain his support for Kyprian, the bearer of the Lithuanian relics to Constantinople and now newly appointed metropolitan of all Rus. But promotion of the new cult also served to recall the role of the emperor and his churchmen as patrons of apostolic enterprises; at the same time they were rallying fresh heavenly powers to protect the city. While *protonotarios* of St Sophia between c.1390 and c.1397, Michael Balsamon composed an encomium of the martyrs, referring to their relics' protective qualities.⁸⁸

By the time Balsamon wrote, the Lithuanian ruling house had accepted Latin Catholicism in accordance with the terms of the Union of Krewo (1385), and hopes of a relief force from the north were fading. But in previous decades, the prospect of effective Lithuanian intervention was far from nebulous, given

⁸⁵ Nikephoros Gregoras, *Historia*, iii. 198–200; Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, 160.

⁸⁶ D. Baronas, 'The Three Martyrs of Vilnius: A Fourteenth-Century Martyrdom and its Documentary Sources', *AB* 122 (2004), 84–6, 91–2, 94, 116–22; Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, 187–8.

⁸⁷ T. V. Nikolaeva, *Произведения русского прикладного искусства с надписями XV–первой четверти XVI в.* (Moscow, 1971), no. 2, and pl. 2, p. 102; V. A. Kuchkin, 'Сергий Радонежский и "Филофеевский крест"', in M. A. Orlova and G. V. Popov (eds.), *Древнерусское искусство* (St Petersburg, 1998), 16–22; Baronas, 'The Three Martyrs', 89–90, 121.

⁸⁸ Michael Balsamon, *Encomium*, ed. T. Aleknienė, *Trys Vilniaus Kankiniai: Gyvenimas ir Istorija*, ed. D. Baronas (Vilnius, 2000), 240; D. Baronas, 'Byzantium and Lithuania: North and South Look at Each Other', in M. Kaimakamova, M. Salamon, and M. Smorąg Różycka (eds.), *Byzantium, New Peoples, New Powers* (Cracow, 2007), 309–10. See also Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, 188.

that the overwhelming majority of the population in the Rus lands under Lithuanian rule maintained eastern Christian devotions; several members of Grand Duke Olgerd's family were Orthodox. There was, in the mid-1370s, the possibility that Olgerd himself might yet convert to Byzantine Christianity, and even that he might send aid to the mother church. After all, another ferocious northerner had mended his ways and rescued a beleaguered emperor four hundred years earlier, when Vladimir of Rus was baptized and sent 6,000 warriors to the rescue of Basil II. That this was hoped for, if seldom articulated, by Byzantine statesmen is suggested by the extensive coverage of Lithuanian affairs by the fourteenth-century historian Nikephoros Gregoras. He takes note of the Lithuanians' martial prowess, mindful of the great tradition of barbarian manpower being harnessed to the empire's requirements.⁸⁹ The patriarchate was still promoting the cult of the Lithuanian martyrs in the 1390s, when Balsamon wrote his encomium, and an appeal was made to Olgerd's son Jagiello, although he was now Catholic king of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In 1397 Patriarch Anthony wrote letters to him and to Metropolitan Kyprian, calling for Jagiello to join the King of Hungary, 'even yourself on behalf of the Christians, with your army and your resources to scatter the ungodly'.⁹⁰

These initiatives, together with the vibrant condition of Orthodox populations around the northern and eastern fringes of the Black Sea, are the backdrop to Manuel II Palaiologos's celebrated travels through Italy, France, and England between 1399 and 1403. Unlike Byzantine embassies of earlier epochs, Manuel's lacked gold or other items of outright material worth and made do with personal majesty. His stays at significant courts, proffering relics and erudition instead of gold, have received due scholarly attention, as have his many disappointments.⁹¹ The King of France, his palace-chapel replete with instruments of the Passion, was not a prime recipient for fresh relics. Accordingly, Manuel turned to lesser figures in hopes of striking a sympathetic chord and his *démarches* were not invariably misplaced. King Martin I of Aragon, already amassing relics of the Passion for his new cathedral of the Holy Cross in Barcelona, welcomed Manuel's gift of pieces of Christ's Tunic and of the Holy Sponge and promised to send to Constantinople six armed galleys. Subsequently, in 1405, he asked for more relics of the Passion and Manuel complied, while stressing that both he and his father had rejected previous requests of this ilk.⁹² Martin died before the consignment of Passion

⁸⁹ Nikephoros Gregoras, *Historia*, i. 514, 517–18; Baronas, 'Byzantium and Lithuania', 304–7.

⁹⁰ *Acta et Diplomata Graeca*, ii. 281 (letter to Jagiello); tr. Barker, *Manuel II*, 151; *Regestes*, vi, nos. 3039, 3040; Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, 253; Baronas, 'Byzantium and Lithuania', 309–10.

⁹¹ Nicol, *Last Centuries*, 308–12, 318–19. Barker (*Manuel II*, 189–98, 254–5) analyzes Manuel's gradual realization of western inertia during his travels.

⁹² Mergiali-Sahas, 'Ultimate Wealth', 271, 273–5. See also Barker, *Manuel II*, 176, 183–4, 265; Klein, 'Eastern Objects', 310–11.

relics reached his court, and no substantive military aid from Aragon was forthcoming. It remains the case that in the decade following Manuel's travels in the west, 'his agents continued the quest for aid without cessation', and Martin I actively furthered their fund-raising efforts in the Iberian peninsula.⁹³

Manuel II's itinerant court-in-miniature and his intensive offers of relics in exchange for aid were unprecedented, a considered response to the Turkish siege of Constantinople and to western predilections alike.⁹⁴ They prompt three remarks—relating both to his efforts and to the stance taken by his thirteenth- and earlier fourteenth-century forebears—which may serve by way of a conclusion. First, an abiding characteristic of Byzantine diplomacy was gracious attentiveness to medium-ranking notables and to lesser or distant power-centres, whether of proven military capability or still emergent. Solemnizing bonds with the help of relics had a similarly ancient pedigree, and creative use of relics in an emergency long predated Manuel. Alexios I Komnenos, needing effective units to fight the Turks in the 1080s and 1090s, directed his appeals to lesser figures in western Europe, keenly aware of the impact cavalry formations could have on less disciplined hordes of marauders. That Alexios's various emissaries to western courts highlighted the relics at his disposal seems likely, even though the text of his message to 'all the princes of the whole realm' owes its extant form to a Latin hand.⁹⁵ That Manuel II, in straits even direr than those of Alexios, should have looked to relics as possible sources of military salvation and dispensed them far more liberally is unsurprising. Like Alexios, he appreciated how just a few western units of quality could turn the tables: desirable as a full-blown expedition might be, a squadron or two of galleys from Venetians and others could block the Turks' passage across the narrows.⁹⁶

More striking, and eliciting our second observation, is the very fact that Manuel Palaiologos could credibly draw upon relics, particles of the True Cross among them. The items at his disposal carried conviction with individual westerners, if not with French kings or Venetian doges. Testimony comes from Nicolas de Martoni, writing in the mid-1390s about the relic collection of

⁹³ Barker, *Manuel II*, 257.

⁹⁴ As emphasized by Mergali-Sahas, 'Byzantine Emperors', 55–9.

⁹⁵ C. Gastgeber, 'Das Schreiben Alexios' I. Komnenos an Robert I. von Flandern. Sprachliche Untersuchung', in G. de Gregorio and O. Kresten (eds.), *Documenti medievali greci e latini* (Spoleto, 1998), 141–85; J. Shepard, '"How St James the Persian's Head was Brought to Cormery": A Relic Collector around the Time of the First Crusade', in L. M. Hoffmann and A. Monchizadeh (eds.), *Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie* (Wiesbaden, 2005), 289, nn. 6 and 7, 334–5.

⁹⁶ Alexios's expectations are refracted through his daughter's emphasis on the arrival of 500 Flemish knights with their horses: Anna Komnena, *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, ed. D. R. Reinsch and A. Kambylis, CFHB 40 (Berlin, 2001), i. 221–2. On Manuel Palaiologos's martial talents and grasp of strategy: Barker, *Manuel II*, 222, 268–70, 316–17, 409.

an acquaintance. Itemizing the relics he beheld in a church built by Dominic, a leading Hospitaller on Rhodes, he reports that Dominic had 'received all the fore-mentioned relics in Constantinople from the . . . emperor, who is his dear and enduring friend'.⁹⁷ Nicolas had no personal interest in making exaggerated claims for these relics, yet he presupposed their genuineness. That the imperial household was seen as a kind of authenticator of relics says something for Manuel's personal devotions and repute.⁹⁸ But he was drawing on 'credits' accumulated under the aegis of Michael VIII and Andronikos II. Their downplaying of relics in ceremonial and regulation of access to those most politically charged sprang from considerations of political self-preservation, rather than long-term planning. And, as we have noted, material vicissitudes could anyway do wonders for the aura of exemplary centres like Teotihuacan. Yet the forbearance of the early Palaiologan emperors in relation to the instruments of the Passion, while promoting cults such as that of the church of the Virgin at Pege and icons such as the Virgin Hodegetria, may have bolstered the city's credentials as functioning imperial-ecclesiastical centre. This was partly a matter of personal piety, as the small reliquaries emanating from imperial circles suggest. But the 'resurrection' of the *mandylion* after 1261 suggests a discreet bid for special access to the supreme protector of Constantinople, made on the emperor's part. As the crisis unfolded from the 1340s onwards, personal reliquaries of the imperial household were put to new uses (above, pp. 78–9), while the pictorial narrative now framing our extant copy of the *mandylion* merged relic with resting-place, representing its arrival in Constantinople as an extension of sacred time.

This leads to a third point. Manuel, with good reason to highlight the theme of a beleaguered sacred city during his tour of the west, showed alertness to the connection between heavenly protectors, images virtually unmediated by man, and the appeal of such images to lords of other cities. Here he was at once improvising and following up precedents his father set. This may be inferred from the small icon of the Mother of God in prayer now in Freising. The original icon and its frame date from the mid-thirteenth century but in, most probably, the later fourteenth century the image of the Virgin was overpainted and provided with an elaborate revetment. At this time further inscriptions were added to the revetment: 'Mother of God', and 'The Hope of the Hopeless' ('*Ἡ Ἐλπίς τῶν Ἀπελπισμένων*') (pl. 6, Fig. 19).⁹⁹ M. Vassilaki, reappraising the icon, suggests that the inscriptions and the overpainting were instigated by Manuel Palaiologos while ensconced at Thessalonica. She has argued that he

⁹⁷ Nicolas de Martoni, *Liber peregrinationis*, 643.

⁹⁸ Barker, *Manuel II*, 407–8, 410, 422–3, 430–8; Manuel II Palaeologus, *Letters*, ed. and tr. G. T. Dennis, CFHB 8 (Washington, DC, 1977), xvii (introduction); Mergiali-Sahas, 'Ultimate Wealth', 267–8.

⁹⁹ M. Vassilaki, 'Praying for the Salvation of the Empire', in Vassilaki, *Images of the Mother of God*, 264–5, 268–9, and pl. 17, 18a, 18b.

presented the icon to the Duke of Milan, Giangaleazzo Visconti, while visiting his city in 1400.¹⁰⁰ As Vassilaki notes, Manuel composed a canon 'to the holiest Mother of God for the present situation', i.e. the Turkish siege of Constantinople.

The inscription 'Hope of the Hopeless' evoked Mary's role in protecting Constantinople, but its message of City in Peril would also resonate with a *signor* who had only recently, in 1395, gained the title of Duke of Milan. Giangaleazzo was a cultivated patron of the arts, concerned with the building of Milan's ornate cathedral, and rapidly expanding his dominions. He had subdued Siena and Pisa in 1399, would soon take over Bologna, and looked set to subjugate Florence, acquisitions giving Genoa and Venice cause for concern. Had his opportunistic strategy succeeded, Giangaleazzo would have been well-placed to honour his promises and go to Constantinople's rescue, bur-nishing his regal pretensions.¹⁰¹ In giving the duke this particular icon Manuel showed a combination of resourcefulness and piety, adapting an older work to new purposes while also, in more traditional vein, deploying the instruments of the Passion: he gave Giangaleazzo a thorn from the crown of thorns.¹⁰² In the event, it was Tamerlane's victory over Sultan Bayezid at Ankara that ended the siege of Constantinople. That Mary had intervened on behalf of her city was proclaimed by Manuel's intimate, Demetrios Chrysoloras, in his thanks-giving 'to the holy Virgin' composed in 1403.¹⁰³ Giangaleazzo Visconti himself was no longer in the diplomatic picture, having succumbed to plague on 3 September, 1402.

If, as seems overwhelmingly likely, Manuel presented the Duke of Milan with the icon of the 'Hope of the Hopeless', he was pitching an appeal to the self-interest of an expansionist *signor*. Manuel's choice illustrates how an exemplary centre could, under skilful direction, portray itself as having special access to the divine while proffering this quality to 'acquisitional' powers. His gift combined the qualities of icon and contact-relic. It was, like the Hodegetria Virgin, supposedly painted by St Luke and thus reproduced Mary's features from life.¹⁰⁴ The ensemble of icon and revetment focused attention on the city of Constantinople in a manner reminiscent of the Genoa *mandylion*, albeit without the latter's pictorial narrative, and complemented the

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. 265–9.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. 268–9; Barker, *Manuel II*, 171–2, 432, 438. D. M. Bueno de Mesquita, *Giangaleazzo Visconti Duke of Milan (1351–1402)* (Cambridge, 1941), 247–58, 276–80, 304–6; J. Law, 'The Italian North', in M. Jones (ed.), *New Cambridge Medieval History*, vi (Cambridge, 2000), 465–6; L. Green, 'Florence and the Republican Tradition', *ibid.* 486.

¹⁰² Mergiali-Sahas, 'Byzantine Emperors', 56; Vassilaki, 'Praying for Salvation', 267 and n. 15.

¹⁰³ P. Gautier, 'Action de grâces de Démétrius Chrysolaras à la Théotokos pour l'anniversaire de la bataille d'Ankara', *REB* 19 (1961), 348–57 (text and French tr.); Barker, *Manuel II*, 215–17, 517; Vassilaki, 'Praying for Salvation', 270.

¹⁰⁴ Vassilaki, 'Praying for Salvation', 270.

other, verbal, appeals for aid made around this time. Thus in 1400 Patriarch Matthew I told the metropolitan of Rus that fund-raising to protect the city was more meritorious with God than performance of the liturgy, almsgiving, or the freeing of prisoners: 'for this holy city is the pride, the bulwark, the sanctification and the glory of the Christians throughout the inhabited world'.¹⁰⁵ Official regeneration of the city's credentials as shrine and world-wide dispenser of relics went on. As noted above, St Sophia had recently become a repository of 'the new Lithuanian martyrs', and Balsamon depicted them as joining in the protection of their new abode. And reverence for the city remained live far to the north, judging by the monk Epifanii. In c.1415 Epifanii recalled how he had persuaded the icon-painter and 'philosopher', Theophanes the Greek, to sketch 'that great church of St Sophia . . . erected by the great emperor Justinian who emulated the wise Solomon'; the end-product was eagerly copied by painters around Moscow.¹⁰⁶ Theophanes had earlier worked at Caffa, ruled by the Genoese in whose own hometown the *mandylion* with its evocative frame now resided.¹⁰⁷ These circuits of greed, exchange, pious self-preservation, and church organization did not come together for Manuel in quite the way they had conjoined at Vicina in 1301, or in Leonardo Montaldo's case. But, in light of such precedents, Manuel's and the patriarchs' appeals to the Christian north and the Christian west on behalf of their 'holy city' were not so far-fetched.

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¹⁰⁵ *Acta et Diplomata Graeca*, ii. 361; tr. Barker, *Manuel II*, 203; *Regestes*, vi, no. 3112.

¹⁰⁶ Epifanii, *Письмо к Кириллу тверскому*, in *Библиотека Литературы Древней Руси*, ed. D. S. Likhachev (St Petersburg, 1999), vi. 442; tr. C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453* (Toronto, 1986), 257–8.

¹⁰⁷ The *mandylion*, bequeathed by Montaldo to the monastery of San Bartolomeo degli Armeni, apparently only gained authoritative recognition in Genoa from the later 15th cent. on: M. Montesano, 'Da Genova a Parigi, da Parigi a Genova', in Wolf *et al.*, *Mandylion*, 288–9; V. Polonio, 'A Genova tra XIV e XV secolo: Icone e reliquie d'oltremare', in Calderoni-Masseti *et al.*, *Intorno al Sacro Volto*, 125. Even so, the capacity of wonder-working images to attract ardent popular followings needs—and needed—to be taken into account: J. Garnett and G. Rosser, 'The Virgin Mary and the People of Liguria: Image and Cult', in R. N. Swanson (ed.), *The Church and Mary* (Woodbridge, 2004), 290, 293–6.

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The Eastern Mediterranean in the Later Middle Ages: An Island World?

David Jacoby

At first glance, the eastern Mediterranean with its numerous islands definitely appears to be an ‘island world’.¹ This impression is conveyed by the largest and most populated islands, namely, Crete, Cyprus, and Euboea, middle-sized Lesbos, Chios, and Rhodes, as well as by the chains and clusters of smaller islands in the Ionian and Aegean seas. Before the Fourth Crusade, the period preceding the one covered by this study, many islands of the eastern Mediterranean were part of a complex web of maritime links furthering the mobility of people and commodities and providing channels of communication for beliefs, ideas, books, and technologies. Despite local and regional differences, several factors decisively enhanced cohesiveness between the islands, namely Byzantine rule, reflected by common administrative, judicial, and fiscal systems and practices, the links to the capital Constantinople, the Orthodox Church and its monasteries, pilgrimage to holy sites within the Byzantine world, the Greek language and culture, and the sense of shared identity. Élisabeth Malamut’s study, *Les Îles de l’Empire byzantin, VII^e–XII^e siècles*, published in 1988, seems to have legitimized the concept of the ‘island world’.²

¹ There is large body of scholarship relevant to this issue, whether directly or indirectly. The massive study by Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea* (Oxford, 2000) pays little attention to the Byzantine world, yet must nevertheless be taken into account in view of its concepts, terminology, and general considerations regarding the Mediterranean, especially its islands, and the broad debate it has generated. To reduce the volume of the notes below I refer predominantly and selectively to recent publications that include references to primary sources and to earlier studies. I apologize for frequently citing some of my own studies. My overarching aim in this chapter has been to draw together existing material to open up new approaches.

² É. Malamut, *Les Îles de l’Empire byzantin, VII^e–XII^e siècles* (Paris, 1988); see especially her conclusions, *ibid.* ii. 613–21; G. Saint-Guillain and O. Schmitt, ‘Die Ägäis als Kommunikationsraum im späten Mittelalter’, *Saeculum: Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte*, 56 (2005), 215–25, consider the late medieval Aegean islands ‘ein eigener Kommunikationsraum’, although open to other regions, thus in a way isolating the islands from continental territories.

However, the secession of Cyprus from Byzantium in 1191 and especially the Latin conquests of Constantinople in 1204 and large sections of the empire in the following decades definitively shattered the unity of the Byzantine maritime space.³ To be sure, various islands and continental territories remained under or returned to imperial rule, yet in many others Byzantine dominion was replaced by Latin lordships. Some islands were even divided between several of them.⁴ The differing political and social systems established in the Latin lordships enhanced diversity. Most Latin lords adopted a system modelled after western feudal structures, while Venice maintained the supremacy of the state, retaining full control of land, justice, and taxation. Beyond political and territorial fragmentation, the Latin conquests resulted in the creation of multilingual, multicultural, and multi-religious societies in several regions of the eastern Mediterranean, especially in urban centres. Latin immigration and settlement, concentrated in port cities, altered the composition and hierarchical structure of local societies, Latin residents composing the upper stratum upon which Latin rule rested.⁵ The Orthodox Church was weakened in Latin territories by the loss of its leaders and many of its assets and was submitted to the authority of the Roman Church. Still, it retained its hold on the Greek populations, and in the absence of Latin clergy in numerous places, especially in the countryside of large islands and in smaller ones, catered to the religious needs of the sparse Latin population.⁶

³ For an overview of territorial, political, and other developments covered by this whole paragraph, see M. Angold, 'After the Fourth Crusade: The Greek Rump States and the Recovery of Byzantium', in J. Shepard (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire, c.500–1492* (Cambridge, 2008), 731–58; D. Jacoby, 'After the Fourth Crusade: The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Frankish States', *ibid.* 759–78; M. Balard, 'Latins in the Aegean and the Balkans (1300–1400)', *ibid.* 834–51; Jacoby, 'Changing Economic Patterns in Latin Romania: The Impact of the West', in A. E. Laiou and R. P. Mottahedeh (eds.), *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World* (Washington, DC, 2001), 197–233; repr. in his *Commercial Exchange across the Mediterranean: Byzantium, the Crusader Levant, Egypt and Italy* (Aldershot, 2005), no. IX; *idem*, 'Social Evolution in Latin Greece', *A History of the Crusades*, gen. ed. K. Setton (Madison, Wis., 1969–89), vi, 175–221. For Cyprus, Euboea, and Chios specifically, see below.

⁴ Boniface of Montferrat, lord of Thessalonica (1204–07), captured Euboea in the spring of 1205 and in August divided the island into three fiefs, which he granted to noblemen from Verona. Their respective successors also ruled over one-third of the island: D. Jacoby, 'The Demographic Evolution of Euboea under Latin Rule, 1205–1470', in J. Chrysostomides *et al.* (eds.), *The Greek Islands and the Sea* (Camberley, Surrey, 2004), 132–4; in the 14th cent. the islands of Seriphos and Kea were also divided into three lordships: see G. Saint-Guillain, 'Niccolò Adolfo, seigneur de Sériphos, un tyran dans l'Archipel au tournant des XIV^e et XV^e siècles', *Thesaurismata*, 28 (1998), 20–5.

⁵ See Jacoby, 'Social Evolution'; G. Saint-Guillain, 'Les Conquérants de l'archipel: L'Empire latin de Constantinople, Venise et les premiers seigneurs des Cyclades', in G. Ortalli *et al.* (eds.), *Quarta Crociata* (Venice, 2006), 125–237.

⁶ See Jacoby, 'Social Evolution', 218–21; G. Saint-Guillain, 'Seigneuries insulaires: Les Cyclades au temps de la domination latine (XIII^e–XV^e siècle)', *Médiévales*, 47 (2004), 32–3.

Specific cultural developments and the absorption of western artistic trends contributed their share to growing diversity between the islands. In the fourteenth century losses of Byzantine territories in Asia Minor to the Turks and some islands to the Genoese enhanced political and territorial fragmentation in and around the Aegean.

These developments, some of which will soon be illustrated, imply that, broadly speaking, the political, religious, and cultural factors adduced as arguments for the existence of the eastern Mediterranean 'island world' before the Fourth Crusade were largely the result of a set of specific, transient historical circumstances. Moreover, the developments of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries raise fundamental questions regarding the very nature of that 'island world' and its existence as a distinct, cohesive, and permanent entity contributing its share to the history of the eastern Mediterranean. It is imperative, therefore, to reconsider the features of that region's islands, their maritime connections, and the implications of these for the material and human interaction between them.

We may begin with some basic considerations. By definition islands are land masses surrounded by water, yet beyond that they have little in common. There is no need to elaborate on the obvious physical diversity among them in size, geological formation, landscape, soil-types, climatic conditions, vegetation, water resources, as well as in natural, mineral, and sea wealth. These factors sometimes created several micro-regions within the same island. The accessibility of the islands and the web of their external communications also varied widely, depending upon the configuration of their coastline, sea depth, sea currents, wind systems, and the existence of havens. Despite being surrounded by sea, eastern Mediterranean islands had a mixed economy combining maritime activity with the exploitation of agricultural and pastoral resources, in which the majority of their population engaged. These economic conditions were common to large islands such as Crete, Cyprus, Euboea, and middle-sized Chios, Lesbos, and Rhodes, as well as to most smaller islands, both before and after 1204. The exercise of crafts partly depended upon local resources, such as forests. Extractive activities offering additional sources of income were carried out in a few islands only.⁷

In fact, the interaction between people and physical environment in the islands did not fundamentally differ from the interaction occurring along the seaboard of the Balkans, Asia Minor, or the Levant.⁸ On the whole, islands

⁷ On the exploitation of resources before the Fourth Crusade, see Malarnut, *Les Îles de l'Empire byzantin*, ii. 383–434. Important changes occurred in the following period as a result of developments examined below. For a long-term survey regarding a limited region in the Aegean, see J. Koder, *Aigaion Pelagos (Die nördliche Ägäis)*, TIB 10 (Vienna, 1998), 92–8.

⁸ Note Horden and Purcell, *Corrupting Sea*, 382: 'many a coastal microregion is to all practical purposes an island, its communications maintained by sea rather than over the mountains'. B. D. Shaw, 'A Peculiar Island: Maghrib and Mediterranean', *Mediterranean Historical Review*,

were more dependent upon maritime transportation than continental coastlands, which benefited from the supply and marketing networks of their respective hinterlands, although isolated coastal sites also relied on shipping. Major differences existed rather between small islands on the one hand, and large islands and coastland areas on the mainland on the other. Life on small islands with limited water or other resources was often precarious. Their microsocieties were more dependent upon food supplies from other islands or from the mainland, the flow of which was hampered or even largely excluded by rough seas in some periods of the year. Wind directions and intensity widely vary from day to day at the same hours throughout the eastern Mediterranean and especially in the Aegean, and winds create microregions of their own.⁹ Especially in the winter they may reach for days the intensity of nine or ten points on the Beaufort scale of twelve, cutting off communications. Heavy summer fogs along the Aegean coasts could also hamper the supply of nearby islands.¹⁰ Storing was thus an important factor of survival on small islands. In addition, these islands were more exposed than large ones to naval warfare and raids by enemy crews, pirates, and corsairs, and the resulting social dislocation. Since their inhabitants had only limited possibilities of refuge in case of raids they were more likely to be deported. Small islands deserted as a result of violent events were sometimes populated anew by lords eager to exploit their territories. Other small islands devoid of proper resources for human sustenance were used as grazing grounds for cattle by the inhabitants of neighbouring islands with which they closely interacted.¹¹

The location of islands also determined to a large extent the exploitation of their resources, economic functions, wealth, and density of population, as well as the interaction of their inhabitants with those of other territories. The proximity of one island to another in the Ionian Sea and in the Aegean greatly facilitated communication between them, whether by their inhabitants,

18 (2003), 93–125, argues that the pre-modern Maghrib consisted of a series of island environments isolated by immense expanses of Mediterranean water to the north, as well as by the desert to the south and between them, with ‘a peculiar insular environment of historical development’.

⁹ J. H. Pryor, *Commerce, Shipping and Naval Warfare in the Medieval Mediterranean* (London, 1987), deals with the general impact of prevailing seasonal winds and currents on navigation (see 14, map, and index, 225, 230, and 236, s.v. ‘currents’, ‘*meltemi*’, and ‘winds’), yet pays little attention to wind variations *within* the seasons. The Adriatic offers an example of discrepancy between the type of data used by Pryor, *ibid.* 89–90, 93–4, and the data upon which mariners rely nowadays, recorded in <http://www.nautica.it>. The recently gathered data regarding local currents in the Aegean is also more varied than those used by Pryor: see R. Heikell, *Greek Waters Pilot* (St Ives, Cambs, 2004), 25–6. Horden and Purcell, *Corrupting Sea*, esp. 137–9, follow Pryor’s general outline and fail to consider winds as factors of microregional diversity.

¹⁰ On these fogs, see Heikell, *Greek Waters Pilot*, 24.

¹¹ A. T. Luttrell, ‘The Latins and Life on the Smaller Aegean Islands, 1204–1453’, *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 4 (1989), 146–57, publ. with identical pagination in B. Arbel *et al.* (eds.), *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean After 1204* (London, 1989); Saint-Guillain, ‘*Seigneuries insulaires*’, 31–2, 36–7, 41–4.

passing merchants, or other travellers. Far more important, however, was the orientation of many islands of the eastern Mediterranean toward continental territories situated at relatively short distances from them. To be sure, before 1204 the unifying Byzantine rule over islands and mainland had clearly fostered interaction between them. This interaction continued in the following period after some readjustment. Two of the large islands, Cyprus and Euboea, and middle-sized Chios, each of which presents distinctive features, illustrate the importance of connections and interdependence between insular and continental territories in the period covered by the present study.

Cyprus was conquered by King Richard I of England in 1191, and remained under Latin rule until its fall to the Ottomans in 1571. From 1192 to 1291 the island's political, institutional, social, economic, cultural, and artistic evolution was tightly connected with developments in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. This impact survived the latter's collapse in 1291 and was especially pronounced during the rule of the Lusignan dynasty, which lasted until 1489.¹² The institutional impact persisted even to some extent under Venetian rule, which ended in 1571, as illustrated by the Italian translation of the thirteenth-century treatise of feudal and constitutional law known as *Livre des Assises de Jérusalem*, ordered by the Venetian authorities in 1531.¹³ On the other hand, the collapse of the Frankish states in 1291 generated a shift in the economic orientation and commercial function of Cyprus within the eastern Mediterranean trading system. While fulfilling a marginal role in that respect until then, it operated in the following period on a large scale as commercial intermediary, transit and transshipment station, as well as collection and distribution centre between the west on the one hand, and Mamluk Egypt, Syria and Cilician Armenia on the other. In addition, Cyprus conducted trade with Rhodes, several ports of Asia Minor, Crete, and other regions of the eastern Mediterranean. Cyprus's function as intermediary gradually declined after 1345.¹⁴ Arabic-speaking eastern Christians from Syria and Armenians settled in Cyprus from 1192 onward. Latin refugees from the Frankish mainland reached the island from the 1240s to 1291, and immigrants from various regions in the west especially in the following period. These immigration currents enhanced linguistic and cultural diversity in Cyprus.¹⁵ There was a

¹² D. Jacoby, 'The Frankish States of the Levant and Cyprus under the Lusignans: A Century of Relations (1192–1291)', in M. Campajnolo and M. Martiniani-Reber (eds.), *From Aphrodite to Melusine* tr. E. Milburn (Geneva, 2007), 63–83.

¹³ Jacoby, 'Les États francs du Levant et Chypre', 73.

¹⁴ On economic developments: D. Jacoby, 'The Venetians in Byzantine and Lusignan Cyprus: Trade, Settlement, and Politics', in A. Nicolaou-Konnari (ed), *La Serenissima and la Nobilissima* (Nicosia, 2009), 59–100.

¹⁵ C. Aslanov, 'Languages in Contact in the Latin East: Acre and Cyprus', *Crusades*, 1 (2002), 155–81; idem, *Le Français au Levant, jadis et naguère* A (Paris, 2006); M. Terkourafi, 'Γλώσσες στη βεντική Κύπρο', *La Serenissima and la Nobilissima*, 145–56, also offers information on the Lusignan period.

strong impact of French Gothic architecture in Cyprus from the late thirteenth century onward. On the other hand, the Byzantine cultural and artistic inheritance survived, especially in the religious sphere, and a limited symbiosis between Latins and Greeks occurred in religious life.¹⁶

Cyprus followed a distinct, complex evolution, very different from that of other islands of the eastern Mediterranean formerly under Byzantine rule, and was not involved in the developments of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries affecting the Aegean space.¹⁷

Euboea, called Negroponte by the Latins, is one of the largest islands of the Aegean and the closest among them to the mainland, to which it was strongly oriented both before and after 1204. The Euripos bridge linking the island to Attica and the narrow Euripos channel between these territories promoted the daily movement of people and goods between them. Lack of suitable land in Euboea induced some local peasants to grow grain beyond the Euripos channel. Peasant mobility was prompted by social pressures, seigniorial jurisdiction, economic constraints, the lords' heavy fiscal demands, as well as by incentives offered by lords fiercely competing for labour. This mobility was furthered from the thirteenth century onwards by the existence of separate political entities on each side of the Euripos channel, namely the Latin lordship of Athens on the one hand, and the three lordships in Euboea on the other.¹⁸ After extending its rule over the entire island of Euboea in 1390 Venice encouraged immigration from the mainland in its quest for agricultural manpower and military reinforcements. In addition, inhabitants fleeing fourteenth-century military incursions into the Duchy of Athens found refuge in Euboea.¹⁹

¹⁶ A. Weyl Carr, 'Art', in A. Nicolaou-Konnari and C. Schabel (eds.), *Cyprus: Society and Culture, 1191–1374* (Leiden, 2005), 285–328; eadem, 'Correlative Spaces: Art, Identity and Appropriation in Lusignan Cyprus', *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook*, 14/15 (1998/9), 59–68; D. Jacoby, 'Society, Culture and the Arts in Crusader Acre', in D. H. Weiss and L. Mahoney (eds.), *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades* (Baltimore, 2004), 110–11, 116–21; J.-B. de Vaivre and P. Plagnieux (eds.), *L'Art gothique en Chypre* (Paris, 2006).

¹⁷ On various aspects of Cypriot history in the period covered here, in addition to the references cited above, see Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel, *Cyprus*; several studies in S. Fourrier and G. Grivaud (eds.), *Identités croisées en un milieu méditerranéen* (Mont-Saint-Aignan, 2006), 223–416, and in Nicolaou-Konnari (ed.), *La Serenissima and la Nobilissima*, 101–93, 243–63; B. Arbel, *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice, 13th–16th Centuries* (Aldershot, 2000), nos. IV, VI. Like Cyprus, Crete presents a distinct institutional, social, and cultural evolution, dominated by Venetian rule, yet contrary to Cyprus was inserted within the Aegean space, as illustrated below.

¹⁸ See above, n. 4.

¹⁹ For the whole paragraph, see Jacoby, 'Changing Economic Patterns', 202; idem, 'The Demographic Evolution of Euboea', 131–79; idem, 'Peasant Mobility across the Venetian, Frankish and Byzantine borders in Latin Romania, thirteenth–fifteenth centuries', in C. A. Maltezou, et al. (eds.), *I Greci durante la venetocrazia* (Venice, 2009), 525–8, 535–9.

In the twelfth century the city of Euripos, also called Negroponte by the Latins, had only limited functions in trade and shipping. Venice's outpost in the city, established in 1211, rapidly boosted the urban economy. In the course of the thirteenth century the city became a commercial and maritime cross-roads. In addition to exporting Euboean products, namely silk, silk textiles, wine, honey, and grain, it acted as warehouse for the collection, distribution, transit, and transshipment of goods brought in from numerous insular and continental ports of the Aegean.²⁰ The regional commercial functions of the city of Negroponte were supplemented by its role as financial market, illustrated by the operation of bankers and moneychangers granting loans and by the interaction with the mainland in this respect. In 1255 Latin merchants residing in Thebes granted a loan to the Venetian commander in Euboea, and in 1310 a Sienese resident of Negroponte financed the military campaign of Walter V of Brienne, Duke of Athens. In short, the political, economic, social, and demographic evolution of Euboea and its main city strongly depended upon interaction with continental Greece.²¹

The island of Chios produced two priced commodities: high-grade wine, and mastic, a gum chewed and used in the manufacturing of perfumes and in pastries. The export of wine to Constantinople continued into the fifteenth century.²² Mastic was widely traded in the east as far as India, as well as in the west. In Byzantine Chios imperial control over mastic presumably extended to production, concentration of the yield, and gross sale, as documented for the island after 1346, when it was under Genoese rule. This is suggested by the Byzantine state monopoly on mastic marketing, attested in the early fourteenth century. It is likely, therefore, that the Genoese rulers of Chios merely maintained the Byzantine regulations, the members of the Genoese Zaccaria family from 1304 to 1329, and the Maona of Chios, the body composed of

²⁰ D. Jacoby, 'La Consolidation de la domination de Venise dans la ville de Négrepont (1205–1390): Un aspect de sa politique coloniale', in C. A. Maltezou and P. Schreiner (eds.), *Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco (XIII–XV secolo)* (Venice, 2002), 151–87; repr. in his *Latins, Greeks and Muslims*, no. IX; S. Borsari, *L'Eubea veneziana* (Venice, 2007), 79–86, 91–6, 113–15, 119–23; D. Jacoby, 'The Demographic Evolution of Euboea', 131–79; idem, 'Silk in Mediaeval Andros', in E. Chrysos and E. A. Zachariadou (eds.), *Captain and Scholar: Papers in Memory of Demetrios I. Polemis* (Andros, 2009), 142–6; idem, 'Thirteenth-Century Commercial Exchange in the Aegean: Continuity and Change', in N. Necipoğlu, et al. (eds.), *Change in the Byzantine World in the 12th and 13th Centuries* (Istanbul, 2010), n. 37. See also below, n. 33.

²¹ Borsari, *L'Eubea veneziana*, 123–5; Jacoby, 'La Consolidation de la domination de Venise', 151–187; on banking; idem, 'Italian Migration and Settlement in Latin Greece: The Impact on the Economy', in H. E. Mayer and E. Müller-Luckner (eds.), *Die Kreuzfahrerstaaten als multi-kulturelle Gesellschaft* (Munich, 1997), 107–14; repr. in his *Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 2001), no. IX.

²² Malamut, *Les Îles de l'Empire byzantin*, ii. 403; D. Jacoby, 'Mediterranean Food and Wine for Constantinople: The Long-Distance Trade, Eleventh to Mid-Fifteenth Century', in E., Kislinger, J. Koder, and A. Kuelzer (eds.), *Commodities and Traffic Routes* (Vienna, 2010), 137, 141, 144–6 (on wine).

Genoese settlers governing the island, from 1346.²³ Although producing grain, Chios depended upon the continent for additional supplies. This is presumably the background to the acquisition of estates opposite the island and in the region of Smyrna by the monastery of Nea Mone, prior to the mid-eleventh century.²⁴ The supply link of Chios to the neighbouring Asiatic mainland was maintained in the following centuries. Grain exports from Phokaia, on the western coast of Asia Minor, are documented in the fourteenth century. It is likely that some of them were directed towards Chios.²⁵

Alum was mainly used in the Middle Ages for the fixing of colourants on textile fibres, and, in addition, in tanning, medicine, and cosmetics. The production of alum in Phokaia, was launched in the 1260s by two Genoese brothers, Manuele and Benedetto Zaccaria, after obtaining a monopoly on extraction and marketing from Emperor Michael VIII.²⁶ This activity enhanced the connection of Chios with the mainland. The large vessels carrying alum anchored in the port of Chios before sailing westward across the Mediterranean. In the following period Chios functioned as warehouse and distribution centre for alum from Asia Minor, the island of Lesbos, and Thessaly.²⁷

The developments affecting Cyprus, Euboea and Chios surveyed above illustrate the importance of their continental orientation and their interaction with the mainland, though in different ways in view of factors specific to each of them. A continental orientation was also common to many smaller islands situated at fairly short distances from the mainland, especially to those partly depending upon food imports.²⁸ The evolution of the large islands highlights the role of short- and medium-range maritime traffic between islands, as well as between them and the mainland.²⁹ The focus of research upon western

²³ On the Byzantine sale monopoly, barely suggested by a few documents, see Jacoby, 'Thirteenth-Century Commercial Exchange', nn. 55–8. On mastic under the Genoese rule, see M. Balard, *La Romanie génoise (XII^e–début du XV^e siècle)* (Rome, 1978), ii. 742–9; idem, 'Le Mastic de Chio, monopole génois (XIV^e–XVI^e s.)', in R. Curiel and R. Gyselen (eds.), *Itinéraires d'Orient: Hommages à Claude Cahen* (Bures-sur-Yvette, 1994), 223–8. On Genoese rule over Chios, see Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, ii. 119–26, and for the dates of the Zaccaria's rule, see P. Lemerle, *L'Émirat d'Aydin, Byzance et l'Occident* (Paris, 1957), 51–2, 61, 66 n. 3, 108–13.

²⁴ On these estates, see Malamut, *Les Îles de l'Empire byzantin*, ii. 412–13.

²⁵ On exports to Venice, see F. Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne au Moyen Âge*. (Paris, 1959), 346, n. 1. However, in 1404 a shortage of grain prompted shipments to Phokaia: P. Piana Toniolo (ed.), *Notai genovesi in Oltremare*. (Genoa, 1995), 176–7, no. 126, and 180–1, no. 131.

²⁶ D. Jacoby, 'Production et commerce de l'alun oriental en Méditerranée, XI^e–XV^e siècles', in P. Borgard et al. (eds.), *L'Alun de Méditerranée* (Naples and Aix-en-Provence, 2005), 233–4.

²⁷ Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, ii. 857–8; Jacoby, 'Production et commerce de l'alun oriental', 245, 248–53; idem, 'Thirteenth-Century Commercial Exchange'.

²⁸ J. Koder and F. Hild, *Hellas und Thessalia, TIB 1* (Vienna, 1976), 45–8, refer to the continental orientation of the northern Sporades islands and those of the Saronic Gulf with respect to natural conditions and, in general terms, to historical factors, yet this orientation went much further.

²⁹ This was also the case of Venetian Crete, both with respect to the Cyclades and to the distant Peloponnese, as illustrated below.

merchants and carriers conducting long-distance trans-Mediterranean trade, in a Eurocentric perspective, has led to the neglect of short- and medium-range regional traffic, despite the latter's major function in the eastern Mediterranean economy of the later Middle Ages.

This traffic is inadequately documented. Few Greek sources attest to its nature, purpose, range, and orientations. Many transactions involving transportation, especially by small-scale vessels over short distances, were concluded orally, paid for in cash or kind before, during, or shortly after the journey, and not formally registered.³⁰ Except for Crete, most notarial charters regarding regional transportation drafted by Latin notaries have perished. The sources nevertheless reveal that many Greeks based in the islands or coastland areas engaged alongside Latins in short- or medium-range journeys, whether as owners or captains of vessels, merchants, or mariners, and assumed a large share of regional traffic.³¹ However, Greeks may have turned to Greek notaries when dealing among themselves, as suggested by a small number of Greek documents drafted in Crete that have survived.³² Finally, many extant sources deal with long-distance trade and shipping involving precious and costly goods or the large-scale supply of grain and industrial raw materials from distant sources, rather than with regional traffic. These were also the major commercial issues discussed between the Mediterranean powers. Finally, medieval portolans offer only sparse evidence on the evolution of regional traffic, since they are primarily concerned with trans-Mediterranean navigation.³³

Regional maritime traffic in the eastern Mediterranean followed three patterns. The quest for basic food supplies, animals, raw materials, semi-finished and finished products, or alternatively the marketing of indigenous surpluses, induced local inhabitants or foreigners to engage in direct bilateral exchanges with specific territories. On the other hand, cabotage and tramping entailed the visit of several ports along the navigation routes. Cabotage consists in the movement of small ships and petty traders between ports located at

³⁰ David Jacoby, 'Greeks in the Maritime Trade of Cyprus around the Mid-Fourteenth Century', in C. Maltezou (eds.), *Cipro-Venezia: Comuni sorti storiche* (Venice, 2002), 81–3; repr. in his *Latins, Greeks and Muslims*, no. XII.

³¹ M. Gallina, 'La navigazione di cabotaggio a Creta nella seconda metà del trecento (dai registri notarili candioti)', *Thesaurismata*, 38 (2009), 23–102, esp. 64–102 for the names. On Greek mariners in Byzantine, Latin, and Turkish service, see G. Makris, *Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Schifffahrt* (Genoa, 1988), 102–27. Note the ships belonging to the monastery of St John of Patmos active in maritime transportation in the Aegean: G. Saint-Guillain, 'L'Apocalypse et le sens des affaires: Les Moines de Saint-Jean de Patmos, leurs activités économiques et leurs relations avec les Latins (XIII^e et XIV^e siècles)', in D. Coulon, et al. (eds.), *Chemins d'outre-mer: Études sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard* (Paris, 2004), ii. 772–82, 787–90.

³² This is suggested by some Cretan wills drafted in Greek from 1486 to 1504, publ. by K. N. Sathas (ed.), *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη* (Athens, 1872–94), vi. 654–92.

³³ See B. R. Motzo, *Il compasso da navigare* (Cagliari, 1947), 31–58, 114–29, for the eastern Mediterranean.

fairly short- or medium-range distances one from another. It aimed at the small-scale collection and distribution of goods, as well as the loading and unloading of passengers, whether in the same island or mainland region or at neighbouring insular and continental points.³⁴ Tramping consists in calling into ports without a fixed schedule. Information regarding the destination of a ship does not provide any indication whether it was engaged in these activities, unless the loading and unloading of goods and passengers at intermediate ports was envisaged or specified. On the other hand, the absence of precise destinations left open all options to call into ports according to the prospects of carrying out such operations. Cabotage and tramping are documented for some eastern Mediterranean islands by Venetian compensation claims submitted to Byzantium in 1278 and 1324, by Genoese claims shortly before June 1294, as well as by notarial charters and Venetian official documents. These traditional types of traffic always fulfilled a major function in maritime trade, especially in the eastern Mediterranean with its numerous islands. They involved mixed cargoes and indigenous as well as imported commodities. The latter were partly re-exported to finance purchases abroad.

It tended to be those ships engaging in short- and medium-range traffic, which were small, poorly manned, and poorly defended, that found themselves the targets of enemy crews, corsairs, and pirates, whose actions fuelled the redistribution of goods outside conventional patterns.³⁵ It should be stressed that the violent seizure of vessels and goods in the Aegean was carried out by crews based in islands and in continental ports, mostly in the latter, where the booty could be more conveniently sold. Monemvasia in the Peloponnese, Thessalonica, and Anaia on the western coast of Asia Minor are mentioned in this respect in 1278; Monemvasia, the island of Skopelos in the northern Sporades, Thessalonica, and possibly Smyrna, in 1324. Beginning in the early fourteenth century Turkish pirates operated from western Asia Minor, and some Latin lords, like the Gattilusio who ruled over Lesbos from 1355, obtained large revenues from the piratical activities they sponsored. The continental bases of attacking crews underline yet another, though negative, aspect of the connectivity between Aegean islands and mainland. One should remember that the cases registered in compensation claims represent only a fraction of shipping activity in the eastern Mediterranean.³⁶

³⁴ On cabotage see Horden and Purcell, *Corrupting Sea*, 149, 365.

³⁵ Ibid. 157–8.

³⁶ For the last two paragraphs, see Gallina, 'La navigazione di cabotaggio', 23–102, and esp. 35, formulae such as *ad illum portum in quo discaribimus mercimonia* or with the general destination *Romania*, which point to cabotage or tramping; however, this author mistakenly equates short- and medium-range shipping with cabotage. See also G. Morgan, 'The Venetian Claims Commission of 1278', *BZ* 69 (1976), 411–38; list of claims in 1324 for damage mainly inflicted at sea: *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum*, ed. G. M. Thomas and R. Predelli (Venice, 1880–99), i. 181–6: it is unclear whether the pirate from Smyrna had operated from that city,

A few instances will illustrate the nature, purpose, range, and orientations of direct shipping, cabotage, and tramping involving Byzantine and former Byzantine territories. Direct sailings are illustrated by shipments of grain and other commodities from Crete to the Peloponnese in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.³⁷ The compensation claims submitted by Venice to Byzantium in 1278 fail to mention ports of call on the way to the ships' destinations, yet in some cases clearly imply cabotage or tramping. In any event, they record the import of a large variety of goods to Negroponte both from Aegean islands and continental ports, namely Andros, Naxos, and Crete, a region of the Balkans extending between the Peloponnese and Thessalonica, Makre on the Aegean coast of Asia Minor, and even more distant locations of the eastern Mediterranean such as Cyprus and Acre. Attacks on traffic between Crete, the islands of Naxos and Seriphos, and the Peloponnesian ports of Modon and Chiarenza (Glarentza) are also mentioned.³⁸ Fourteenth-century commercial contracts reveal that small ships leaving Candia, the capital of Venetian Crete, often anchored at Sitia or Mirabello, along the northern coast of the island, in order to load between 15 and 30 metric tons of cheese produced around these localities. The vessels stopped for two days at Paphos and again at Limassol, intermediate ports on the southern coast of Cyprus, to enable the merchants on board to sell cheese. The Cretan cheese reaching Famagusta was partly re-exported. In 1306 a contract provided that the ship would proceed to Ayas, in Cilician Armenia, if the merchant did not manage to sell all his cheese in Cyprus. In other instances cheese was shipped to Egypt, where the proceeds of its sale financed the purchase of spices. In 1369 a vessel sailed from Candia via Mirabello to Rhodes and from there to Cyprus before returning to Candia. Another engaged in cabotage on its return voyage from Attaleia, called Satalia by the Latins, on the southern coast of Asia Minor, anchoring in Rhodes, Kyrenia on the northern coast of Cyprus, Paphos, and Limassol before reaching Famagusta.³⁹

under Turkish rule from 1317; G. Bertolotto (ed.), 'Nuova serie di documenti sulle relazioni di Genova con l'Impero bizantino', *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, 28 (1897), 511–45; D. Jacoby, 'Creta e Venezia nel contesto economico del Mediterraneo orientale sino alla metà del Quattrocento', in G. Ortalli (ed.), *Venezia e Creta* (Venice, 1998), 92–6; repr. in his *Commercial Exchange*, no. VII; idem, 'The Demographic Evolution of Euboea', 150 n. 103; idem, 'Foreigners and the Urban Economy in Thessalonike, c.1150–c.1430', *DOP* 57 (2003), 96–7, 105 n. 129, 106, 113, 114 n. 203; repr. in his *Latins, Greeks and Muslims*, no. VII; Borsari, *L'Eubea veneziana*, 101–3; Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, ii. 587–98. On Byzantine, Latin, and Turkish attacks, see Makris, *Studien*, 193–210; Jacoby, 'Changing Economic Patterns', 202–3.

³⁷ C. Gaspares, 'Η ναυτιλιακή κίνηση από την Κρήτη προς την Πελοπόννησο κατά τον 14ο αιώνα', *Ta Istorika*, 9 (1988), 287–318; D. Tsougarakes, 'Η σιτική πολιτική της Βενετίας στην Κρήτη τον 130–140 αιώνα', *Mesaionika kai Nea Hellenika*, 3 (1990), 333–85.

³⁸ See above, n. 33. Further evidence on short- and medium-range sailing is summed up by Koder and Hild, *Hellas und Thessalia*, 103.

³⁹ Jacoby, 'Greeks in the Maritime Trade of Cyprus', 69–72.

The production and marketing of Cretan cheese reflect some important aspects of commercial exchanges in indigenous agricultural and pastoral products. Cheese was an important component of daily diet and widely produced in the Mediterranean region. However, its broad distribution was selective according to quality, taste, and price, whether in response to consumption patterns or, alternatively, in order to fuel demand. Insular and continental supply sources and markets were closely linked. Diversified trading patterns also applied to wine.

A new factor intruded into the regional trading and shipping patterns of the eastern Mediterranean in the thirteenth century, namely growing external demand for specific commodities: foodstuffs such as grain, cheese, and wine, mastic, industrial raw materials such as alum, cotton, silk, and kermes, a fairly costly red colourant used in textile manufacture, and silk textiles. The bulk of this demand originated in distant ports, mainly Venice and Genoa, which not only responded to large local demand but also acted as distribution centres for their respective continental and maritime hinterlands. The increase in eastern Mediterranean market and export-oriented production or collection (as for kermes) was largely promoted by Latins, merchants and entrepreneurs, as well as large landholders and rulers exercising their authority over dependent peasants. There were also partnerships between Latin rulers and entrepreneurs. The political and territorial fragmentation of the former Byzantine space created a climate of competition between Latin lords, who were keenly aware of the increasing demand for specific goods and, therefore, attracted settlers, investments, merchants, and ship operators. Latin merchants and Latin lords also replaced local Greek *archontes* and merchants in the collection and distribution of goods, acting as middlemen between producers, urban markets, and exporters, or serving as such. There were nevertheless some individual *archontes* in Crete, like the Kallergis, who retained their power over the peasantry and these economic functions.⁴⁰

Agricultural and pastoral production was stimulated with the help of credit or direct investments. Sale credit appeared in the form of anticipated payment for the delivery of an agreed amount of produce at a specific date or within a specific period. Sale credit is widely documented for Crete and, clearly, was also applied elsewhere. Loans and leases based on other types of contract also furthered land cultivation and the raising of animals.⁴¹ Only local inhabitants used these financial tools, too risky for travelling merchants. Local lords also

⁴⁰ Jacoby, 'The Demographic Evolution of Euboea', 139 and n. 39; idem, 'Changing Economic Patterns', 216–18; Saint-Guillain, 'Seigneuries insulaires', 40–1, on Santorini.

⁴¹ Jacoby, 'Changing Economic Patterns', 218–19; idem, 'New Evidence on the Greek Peasantry in Latin Romania', in C. Dendrinos, J. Harris, E. Harvalia-Crook, and J. Herrin (eds.), *Porphyrogenita: Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides* (Aldershot, 2003), 239–52; repr. in his *Latins, Greeks and Muslims*, no. X.

invested in export-oriented production. As a result, various islands and continental territories around the Aegean focused upon specific commodities. Crete produced grain and several varieties of cheese. Its vineyards were extended in the fourteenth century at the expense of grain growing and the superior 'malvasia' variety, introduced into the island around 1330, substantially boosted the island's wine exports. Cretan cheese and wine were widely distributed throughout the Aegean, other Mediterranean regions, and the Black Sea, wine even reaching Flanders and England.⁴² The island of Karpathos also exported cheese. Crete raised horses and mules on a large scale. The rearing of silk worms and the collection of kermes were encouraged in western Asia Minor, on mainland Greece from the Peloponnese to Macedonia, and in the islands of Negroponte and Andros.⁴³ Cotton growing expanded in Crete in the thirteenth century and was later practised in Byzantine Macedonia, the southern Peloponnese, and the islands of Negroponte, Santorini, and Corfu. In Santorini cotton cultivation was a deliberate policy initiated by the Dukes of the Archipelago in the second half of the fourteenth century.⁴⁴ It is likely that in Chios the Genoese maintained the Byzantine state monopoly on mastic, while determining the volume of production.⁴⁵ The production of alum in Phokaia was financed from the 1260s by the Genoese brothers Manuele and Benedetto Zaccaria, who had obtained a monopoly on extraction and marketing from Emperor Michael VIII. On the other hand, the members of the Gattilusio family, who ruled the island of Lesbos/Mytilene from 1355 and the continental region of Ainos in Thrace from the 1370s, appear to have leased these functions to private entrepreneurs. In 1446 Giacomo II Crispo, Duke of the Archipelago, granted the monopoly of production and sale of alum from the island of Melos to Giacomo Priuli, a Venetian entrepreneur, in return for an investment in the enterprise.⁴⁶

It should be noted that from the thirteenth century onwards insular and continental regions of the Aegean responded in similar ways to western market demands, incentives, and investments in specific export-oriented crops or extractive types of production. This response was especially pronounced in

⁴² Grain: Jacoby, 'New Evidence on the Greek Peasantry', 207, 216–17, 222–4; idem, 'Mediterranean Food and Wine', cheese: 128–9, 144–6; wine 136, 138–45, 147.

⁴³ Jacoby, 'Thirteenth-Century Commercial Exchange in the Aegean', on western Asia Minor; idem, 'Silk Production in the Frankish Peloponnese: The Evidence of Fourteenth-Century Surveys and Reports', in: H. A. Kalligas (ed.), *Travellers and Officials in the Peloponnese: Descriptions—Reports—Statistics, in Honour of Sir Steven Runciman* (Monemvasia, 1994), 41–61; repr. in his *Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 1997), no. VIII; idem, 'Foreigners and the Urban Economy in Thessalonike', 103–5, 114–15; idem, 'Silk in Mediaeval Andros', 145–50.

⁴⁴ Jacoby, 'Changing Economic Patterns', 219; idem, 'Foreigners and the Urban Economy in Thessalonike', 103–5, 108, 114; Saint-Guillain, 'Seigneuries insulaires', 40–1.

⁴⁵ See above, n. 23.

⁴⁶ Jacoby, 'Production et commerce de l'alun oriental', 233–7, 239–40, 252–3.

Latin-occupied territories, due to the presence of Latin residents and lords. While foodstuffs and some other commodities were partly retained or distributed within the Aegean region itself, such as raw silk for the manufacture of textiles,⁴⁷ other industrial commodities, namely cotton, kermes, and alum, were mostly or even exclusively conveyed to major transit and transshipment stations in order to be dispatched to western industrial centres. Such was also the case of grain and salt, shipped to Venice in accordance with the state's policy.⁴⁸ This distinctive channelling pattern differed from the internal shipping network of the region. It rested upon direct transportation from production sites or upon collection from several ports, both insular and continental, and the distribution of goods in return. Cabotage was partly redirected to that effect and served as an indispensable support of long-distance trans-Mediterranean trade.

The new geopolitical conditions and the economic developments of the thirteenth century surveyed so far reveal two basic trends affecting the islands and coastlands of the eastern Mediterranean and especially those of the Aegean space. Regional short- and medium-range maritime trade displayed basic continuity with respect to the Byzantine period in its orientations, communication networks, and ranges. On the other hand, a partial restructuring occurred in the economic orientation of the region, especially in the territories conquered by the Latins. Instead of being largely geared towards Constantinople and the internal Byzantine market, the Aegean region rapidly integrated within the patterns of the western trading system.⁴⁹ As a result, there was a substantial increase in the flow of products from that region to the west. However, the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries witnessed the intensification of wine and cheese exports from the Aegean space to Constantinople and beyond, especially from Crete. These exports partly financed growing western purchases of grain, oriental luxury silks, gems, and spices, as well as silk, hides, and wax in the Byzantine capital and the Black Sea region. At the same time the shipping of Aegean wine and cheese responded to increasing demand in Ottoman and Mongol territories.⁵⁰ A growing volume of Cretan wine and cheese was also dispatched to Alexandria in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁵¹

⁴⁷ D. Jacoby, 'The Production of Silk Textiles in Latin Greece', in *Τεχνολογία στη λατινοκρατούμενη Ελλάδα* (= *Technology in Latin-Occupied Greece*) (Athens, 2000), 22–35; repr. in his *Commercial Exchange*, no. XII; idem, 'Silk in Mediaeval Andros', 144–7.

⁴⁸ Jacoby, 'Changing Economic Patterns', 222–3.

⁴⁹ D. Jacoby, 'The Economy of Latin Constantinople, 1204–1261', in: A. Laiou (ed.), *Urbs Capta = La IV^e Croisade et ses conséquences* (Paris, 2005), 195–214, on the contraction and partial recovery of the Constantinopolitan market; idem, 'Changing Economic Patterns', 220–2; idem, 'Creta e Venezia', 81–2, 88–92.

⁵⁰ Jacoby, 'Mediterranean Food and Wine', 138–41, 144.

⁵¹ Jacoby, 'Greeks in the Maritime Trade of Cyprus', 72; idem, 'Creta et Venezia', 97–100.

In addition to demand and supply, examined so far, political factors also had an impact upon the channelling of goods, shipping patterns, and maritime lanes in the later Middle Ages. The rivalry between Venice and Genoa in long-distance trade and shipping resulted in the fragmentation of the eastern Mediterranean and especially the Aegean along political lines. Each of the two maritime powers consolidated its dominance over specific waterways and maritime spaces, Venice on the western and Genoa on the eastern Aegean, a process completed by the mid-fourteenth century.⁵² The two maritime powers promoted the development of their own transit and transshipment stations, whose infrastructures and services furthered the mobility of passing merchants, ships and goods. These stations also owed their significant development to the settlement of immigrants attracted by their economic functions and to the range of their residents' economic operations.⁵³ The immigrants included the respective citizens and subjects of the two maritime powers, as well as foreign Latins, Greeks, and Jews.

Venetian rule over Candia, the capital of Crete, Modon and Coron in the southern Peloponnese, and a section of the city of Negroponte encouraged Venetian and foreign settlement and trade in these ports. The channelling of goods through them was also furthered by Venice's protectionist policy favouring its own citizens in trade and shipping which, however, also entailed some constraints. This policy covered the operation of state galleys (*galere di mercato*) carrying costly goods in trans-Mediterranean voyages from the early fourteenth century onward, regulations ensuring the navigation course and rhythm of these galleys and private ships, measures ensuring the safety of Venetian convoys, and compulsory shipments of grain and salt towards Venice.⁵⁴

As a result, Candia became the major transit and transshipment station between Venice, on the one hand, and Cyprus, Egypt, Syria, and the Turkish emirates of southern and western Asia Minor on the other.⁵⁵ The city of Negroponte fulfilled the same function with respect to the western Aegean, Constantinople, and the Black Sea. Its commercial and financial operations were closely linked to its insertion within the complex Venetian local, regional, and trans-Mediterranean maritime networks. Their growth precipitated the fourteenth-century decline of Thessalonica as market and port of call in long-distance trade, no less than the Catalan, Serb, and Turkish invasions and the civil wars in the Byzantine territories of the Balkans.⁵⁶ Modon, the major

⁵² Jacoby, 'Changing Economic Patterns', 226–8.

⁵³ On these functions, *ibid.* 229.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 222–3. On state galleys, see D. Stöckly, *Le Système de l'incanto des galées du marché à Venise (fin XIII^e-milieu XV^e siècle)* (Leiden, 1995).

⁵⁵ Jacoby, 'Creta e Venezia', 73–106; E. A. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade* (Venice, 1983).

⁵⁶ Jacoby, 'Foreigners and the Urban Economy in Thessalonike', 96–8, 101, 103–8, 114, 124–5, 129.

outlet for commodities of the southern Peloponnese, assumed a pivotal role as transit and transshipment station, thanks to its location at the juncture of the two main Venetian shipping lanes in the eastern Mediterranean, one leading to Constantinople and the other to Egypt.⁵⁷

The fragmentation of the eastern Mediterranean along political lines is also illustrated by the preference displayed by Venetian citizens and subjects for Venetian channels of transportation, which they considered more reliable and secure than others. Exclusively Venetian and Greek traders based in Venetian Crete and mainly ships owned and operated by Cretan Greeks ensured the supply of Cretan cheese and wine to Constantinople in the fourteenth and in the first half of the fifteenth century.⁵⁸ The account book of the Venetian Giacomo Badoer, who resided in the Byzantine capital from 1436 to 1440, records direct traffic between this city and Beirut via Rhodes, along with the dispatch of goods on board Cretan ships and their transshipment in Candia for re-export to Venice, Alexandria, and Beirut. These complex operations were handled by Cretan middlemen, both Latins and Greeks.⁵⁹ However, the Venetian patterns of navigation did not exclude occasional Venetian sailings to Chios or Phokaia, captured by the Genoese in 1346, or to the island of Lesbos, in the hands of the Genoese Gattilusio family from 1355. As noted above, both Phokaia and that island were sources of alum.⁶⁰ In addition, there was a brisk trade between Crete and the Turkish emirates of western Asia Minor.⁶¹

The consolidation of Venetian dominance over the western Aegean was also furthered by the Genoese focus on commercial expansion in the Black Sea and Genoese rule over the island of Chios from 1304 to 1329 and again from 1346 onward. The itineraries of Genoese ships partly coincided with those of Venetian vessels along the Greek coast from Corfu to the Aegean, yet once they reached that region their course of navigation differed. They could also avoid calling in Venetian territories and outposts by sailing from Messina along the southern coast of Crete, devoid of ports, to Rhodes, Cyprus, Beirut, or Alexandria.⁶² The port of Chios became the major Genoese transit and transshipment station in the Aegean. As noted above, it served as warehouse and distribution centre for alum produced in the region.⁶³ In addition, it was

⁵⁷ Jacoby, 'Changing Economic Patterns', 217–18, 225, 227.

⁵⁸ Jacoby, 'Creta e Venezia', 85–6; idem, 'Mediterranean Food and Wine', 139–42, 145.

⁵⁹ Jacoby, 'Creta e Venezia', 84; U. Dorini and T. Bertelè (eds.), *Il libro dei conti di Giacomo Badoer* (Rome, 1956): 104, 488, 630 (direct trade with the Levant); 112, 428, 600 (via Candia with the Levant); 37, 42 (via Candia with Venice).

⁶⁰ Jacoby, 'Production et commerce de l'alun oriental', 244–5, 251.

⁶¹ Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*.

⁶² M. Balard, 'Escalaes génoises sur les routes de l'Orient méditerranéen au XIV^e siècle', *Les Grandes Escalaes = Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin*, 32 (1974), 248–9, and map.

⁶³ See above, n. 27.

located at the juncture of two major navigation lanes. One of these channelled goods between Genoa, the Turkish emirates of western Asia Minor, Constantinople, and the Black Sea. The other led from the Black Sea and Constantinople to Rhodes, Cyprus, Beirut, and Alexandria. However, in the second half of the fourteenth and in the fifteenth century, some Genoese ships were diverted from the Genoese patterns of navigation to load wine in Venetian Candia for export to Pera, the Genoese quarter of Constantinople, as well as to Genoa, Flanders, and England.⁶⁴ It should be noted that the Genoese dominance over the sea lane leading from Genoa via Chios to Constantinople did not block Venetian access to western Asia Minor. The political fragmentation in that region both enabled and promoted commercial competition between Genoa and Venice in the Turkish emirates of Aydın and Menteşe.⁶⁵ The Genoese operated in both of them, and Venice concluded a series of agreements with these Turkish states.⁶⁶

The Aegean space experienced continuous migration in the later Middle Ages. Inordinate mobility on a large scale was generated by catastrophic events, such as wars, raids on islands and continental coastlands, the deportation of inhabitants, the Turkish conquests in Asia Minor in the early fourteenth century, and the Ottomans' advance in the Balkans at a later stage. Their occupation of Constantinople in 1453 and their conquests in continental Greece in the second half of the fifteenth century prompted many Greeks to seek refuge in Venetian Crete or in Venice proper. These events had a disruptive short- or long-term effect on local societies and economies in the Aegean space.⁶⁷ On the other hand, orderly individual and voluntary migration mostly contributed to the economic growth illustrated above.

The Latin occupation of Byzantine territories in the Aegean space in the early thirteenth century both enabled and promoted the settlement of fairly large numbers of Latins and their extensive geographic distribution. Settlement was either temporary for a number of years or permanent. It had a strong impact upon the long-term economic evolution of the Aegean region, especially on the Latin territories. The Latins displayed a marked preference for ports already acting as collection and distribution centres, as outlets for their respective hinterland and neighbouring islands, or as regular stopovers for vessels sailing between the West, Constantinople, and Egypt. Latins also settled in the cities of Thebes and Negroponte manufacturing silk textiles, as well as in old and new political and administrative centres, such as Andravida in the Peloponnese, Corinth, Thebes, Athens, Naxos, Candia, and Chios,

⁶⁴ Jacoby, 'Creta e Venezia', 86, 94.

⁶⁵ On competition, see Jacoby, 'Production et commerce de l'alun oriental', 245–8, 258–9.

⁶⁶ Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*; for the Genoese, *ibid.* 55–9, 108–9, 127–8.

⁶⁷ On Euboea, see above, n. 19; on other Latin territories, see Jacoby, 'Changing Economic Patterns', 200–5; on Venice, see *idem*, 'I Greci ed altre comunità tra Venezia e oltremare', in M. F. Tiepolo and E. Tonetti (eds.), *I Greci a Venezia* (Venice, 2002), 48–9.

which as a result expanded as consumption centres of luxury goods and markets. Latin migration from the West and within the eastern Mediterranean itself was essentially an inter-urban phenomenon. The number of Latin settlers engaging in trade in the Aegean appears to have been constantly on the rise from the early thirteenth century. The cities in which they concentrated also attracted other immigrants, Greeks from other cities or the countryside and Jews, who sought to take advantage of new opportunities in trade, the exercise of crafts, or the service sector especially in households, trade, and transportation.⁶⁸ The distribution and scale of Latin settlement in Byzantine territories around the Aegean was far more limited.⁶⁹

There are good reasons to believe that, though largely of Venetian and Genoese origin, the extant sources convey a fairly accurate picture of migration trends in the eastern Mediterranean in the later Middle Ages. Economic and fiscal considerations and the protection granted by Venice and Genoa respectively to their citizens, subjects, and foreigners in the territories and urban quarters they ruled, the privileged status enjoyed by the two powers in Byzantium, and the policy of naturalization they pursued largely account for the orientations and patterns of migration.⁷⁰ These were also affected by the fragmentation of the eastern Mediterranean into zones of dominance.

Venetians settled in Venetian ports or urban quarters, and there was a constant movement of Venetian residents, both citizens and subjects, between these localities. Thus, for instance, Venetian, other Latin, Greek, and Jewish residents of Crete migrated to Negroponte, Modon, and Coron, and vice versa, others from Crete to the Venetian quarter in Constantinople.⁷¹ Venetian rule and the intensification of Venetian trade in the eastern Mediterranean also furthered the migration of Greeks seeking economic opportunities to Venice

⁶⁸ Jacoby, 'Italian Migration', 103–8, 112–13; idem, 'La Colonisation militaire vénitienne de la Crète au XIII^e siècle: Une nouvelle approche', in M. Balard and A. Ducellier (eds.), *Le partage du monde* (Paris, 1998), 297–313; idem, 'Changing Economic Patterns', 205–12; idem, 'The Jewish Communities of the Byzantine World from the Tenth to the Mid-Fifteenth Century: Some Aspects of their Evolution', N. de Lange et al. (eds.), *Jewish Reception of Greele Bible Versions* (Tübingen, 2009), 157–81. On craftsmen and apprentices belonging to the various communities in Crete, see E. Santschi, 'Contrats de travail et d'apprentissage en Crète vénitienne au XIV^e siècle d'après quelques notaires', *Revue d'histoire suisse*, 19 (1969), 34–74, esp. 59, 65; C. A. Maltezos, 'Métiers et salaires en Crète vénitienne (XV^e siècle)', *BF* 12 (1987), 321–41, esp. 322–3, 326, 330.

⁶⁹ For instance, limited numbers in Thessalonica: Jacoby, 'Foreigners and the Urban Economy in Thessalonike', 97–103, 106–7, 109, 111–13, 115; some Genoese resided in Anaia by 1300–01: V. Polonio (ed.), *Notai genovesi in Oltremare* (Genoa, 1982), 140, 168, 471–2, respectively nos. 125, 146, 393.

⁷⁰ On the naturalization of foreigners, see D. Jacoby, 'Les Vénitiens naturalisés dans l'Empire byzantin: un aspect de l'expansion de Venise en Roumanie du XIII^e au milieu du XV^e siècle', *TM* 8 (1981), 217–35; repr. in his *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion* (Northampton, 1989), no. IX; idem, 'Les Génois dans l'Empire byzantin: Citoyens, sujets et protégés (1261–1453)', *La Storia dei Genovesi*, 12 vols. (Genoa, 1981–94), ix. 245–84; repr. in Jacoby, *Trade, Commodities and Shipping*, no. III.

⁷¹ This topic deserves to be studied. The evidence is widely scattered.

from the last decades of the thirteenth century onward. Most Greek immigrants came from Venetian colonies, others from territories and ports visited by Venetian merchants and ships such as Corfu, Cephalonia, Crete, Chiarenza (Glarentza) and Argos in the Peloponnese, Rhodes, Famagusta, Thessalonica, Constantinople, and even Trebizond in the Black Sea. It should be noted that these Greek immigrants originated both in insular and continental territories.⁷² Similar migration currents appear with respect to Genoa. Genoese and Ligurian immigrants settled in Chios, Phokaia, Lesbos, and Pera. Some Greeks and Jews from Chios also established themselves in that Genoese suburb of Constantinople. On the other hand, Greeks and members of Oriental communities from Genoese-ruled territories and outposts, as well as from regions of intense Genoese trade and shipping migrated to Genoa in search of employment.⁷³

The above survey of political, economic, and demographic developments in the eastern Mediterranean in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries is far from exhaustive. It nevertheless reveals that the conjunction of these developments resulted in the fragmentation of the region and in a large extent of political, religious, and cultural diversity, especially in the Aegean space. Some important structural changes occurred in the patterns of production and in the networks of trade and transportation, as well as in the course of shipping routes and in the economic functions and relative importance of ports in the region. It remains to establish whether the concept of 'island world' may be postulated in these changed circumstances, and whether it has any validity at all.

'Connectivity' and the 'aggregates of short distances' are at the centre of Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell's construct of the Mediterranean as it is developed in their volume, *The Corrupting Sea*. At first glance it would seem that these parameters may be applied to the islands of the eastern Mediterranean and fit the notion of an 'island world'. However, while pointing to link and communication, 'connectivity' is not tantamount to cohesion. Moreover, the concept itself requires refinement to differentiate between various types of connectivity and to assess their nature, variations in their frequency and intensity, and their impact. Impact too requires differentiation. Interaction between two sites, dependence of one site on another, and interdependence are not synonymous with cohesion.

To be sure, proximity between islands or between them and the mainland favoured connectivity, yet connectivity was determined by economic factors.

⁷² Jacoby, 'I Greci', 46–64.

⁷³ Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, i. 235–54; idem, 'Le minoranze orientali a genova (secc. XIII–XV)', in *La Storia dei Genovesi*, iii. 71–90. The patterns of Jewish migration differed from those of other sections of the population. On Jewish migration between Venetian colonies and outposts and Genoese-ruled sites in the eastern Mediterranean, see Jacoby, 'The Jewish Communities of the Byzantine World', 167–78.

Milk produced by herds grazing on small islands unfit for human habitation required regular daily shipping to consumers or cheese producers in neighbouring islands or continental sites. The transportation of food supplies between two or more sites involved intermittent communication. Cabotage and tramping resulted in occasional connectivity. The direct dispatch of goods to transshipment stations inserted within trans-Mediterranean traffic was linked to seasonal navigation and, therefore, gave rise to exchanges between producers and middlemen over varying distances at more or less stable periods of the year, yet limited in time.

By responding to external demand Latin settlers and lords established in the eastern Mediterranean and especially in the Aegean region, both in insular and continental regions, contributed decisively to the economic evolution of the region in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. They were also a decisive factor of connectivity by their presence, investments in export-oriented products, and trading. Settlers often maintained close ties with their relatives in other locations, whether insular or continental, and conducted business in conjunction with them. In various cases their geographic distribution responded to a business strategy.⁷⁴ More generally, resident merchants and other individuals involved in maritime commerce monitored the movement of people, ships, and commodities, exchanged information with their counterparts, whether orally or in writing, and thus continuously activated a complex web of communication linking insular and continental sites.

Insular and continental territories around the Aegean experienced the same reorientation of their economy after the Fourth Crusade. Commercial exchanges and demographic interaction linked numerous islands of the Aegean between themselves, as well as to neighbouring continental territories in the Balkans and Asia Minor. The functions of islands as transit stations heavily depended upon their connections with the mainland, whether directly or via other islands. In short, the islands had no existence of their own. Moreover, the various types of connectivity between them were not sufficient to create a distinct, cohesive, and viable entity such as 'an island world'. This conclusion is also valid for the period preceding the Fourth Crusade.

Connectivity networks were partly altered and reshaped by the rivalry between the two major maritime nations, Venice and Genoa. Nevertheless, interlocking and partially overlapping networks of communication linked insular and continental territories across political boundaries and the fault lines between zones of dominance. This link was also promoted by the use of

⁷⁴ D. Jacoby, 'Migrations familiales et stratégies commerciales vénitiennes aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles', in M. Balard and A. Ducellier (eds.), *Migrations et diasporas méditerranéennes (X^e–XVI^e siècles)* (Paris, 2002), 355–73; repr. in his *Latins, Greeks and Muslims*, no. III.

Latin in legal documents and the existence of a commercial and maritime *koinè* in oral communication across the eastern Mediterranean.

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Constantinople as City-State, c.1360–1453

Jonathan Harris

Defeat almost inevitably brings accusations of treachery in its wake and the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in May 1453 was no exception. The favourite target for such charges was the Genoese who were widely accused of colluding with the Ottoman sultan from their colony at Pera, across the Golden Horn from Constantinople. The targeting of the Genoese in this way is hardly to be wondered at, for the rumours often emanated from those who had good reason to hate them anyway, particularly from their bitter commercial rivals, the Venetians.¹ What is more surprising is that the finger was also pointed at those who might have been considered to be the principal victims of the disaster, the wealthier Byzantine citizens of Constantinople.

Their most searing critic was Leonard of Chios, Bishop of Mytilene, who wrote an eyewitness account of the 1453 siege a few weeks afterwards. His main charge against the prominent citizens of Constantinople was that most of them contumaciously refused to accept the union of the churches that had been agreed at Florence in 1439. To that, however, he added another indictment: that these wealthy Greeks treacherously refused to use their immense riches to fund the defence of their city but rather hoarded them. Consequently, all that money fell into the hands of the Turks when they captured Constantinople. Leonard did not content himself with generalities here but was prepared to name names. Singled out for obloquy were Manuel Iagaris and

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¹ Nicolò Barbaro, *Giornale dell'assedio di Constantinopoli*, ed. Enrico Cornet (Vienna, 1856), 28–9; tr. J. R. Jones, *Diary of the Siege of Constantinople, 1453* (New York, 1969), 39–40; J. Paviot, 'Gênes et les Turcs (1444, 1453): Sa défense contra les accusations d'une entente', *La Storia dei Genovesi* (Genoa, 1981–94), ix, 129–37; J. Harris, 'Publicising the Crusade: English Bishops and the Jubilee Indulgence of 1455', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 50 (1999), 36.

the monk Neophytos to whom, Leonard claims, a sum of 20,000 florins was entrusted for the repair of the Land Walls. Rather than use it for its designated purpose, they kept it for themselves.²

The greatest Greek villain, in Leonard's view, was Loukas Notaras, who held the office of Grand Duke. During the siege, he was given command of a kind of mobile reserve of a hundred horsemen which he could lead to wherever the need was greatest.³ He seems also to have been responsible for some of the defenders' stock of cannon for, according to Leonard, the Genoese leader of the defence, Giovanni Giustiniani, sent to Notaras to ask him to bring them up to the Land Walls. This Notaras refused to do, prompting Giustiniani to threaten to run him through with his sword. Notaras allegedly deeply resented this insult because it came from a Latin, the implication being that the Grand Duke was an opponent of the Union of Florence. Consequently, Notaras thereafter saw to it that supplies were sent to the walls as slowly as possible, further undermining the defence.⁴

Anti-Latinism was by no means Notaras's only alleged crime. After the siege, again according to Leonard's account, Notaras and other Byzantine nobles were brought before the victorious sultan, Mehmed II. Notaras tried to purchase his safety by betraying Mehmed's vizier, Halil, who had for many years been in receipt of bribes from the Byzantine emperor. Notaras handed over letters that Halil had sent to the emperor and this damning evidence was enough to have Halil arrested and executed on the sultan's orders. The ploy failed to save Notaras's skin, however, and he too ended up being executed along with several of his sons.⁵

Leonard of Chios was particularly antagonistic towards the Greeks but he was not the only one to tell such tales. The charges against Notaras, Iagaris, and Neophytos, for example, are repeated by Adam of Montaldo and in a report on the fall of Constantinople written by some Franciscans who had been present. Marco Barbaro's notes at the end of the manuscript of Nicolò Barbaro's diary of the siege, added in July 1453, describe how the Byzantine emperor, Constantine XI, begged his nobles for financial assistance. They excused themselves on the grounds of poverty but after the city's capture, their houses were found to be stuffed with moveable wealth. Some of them even attempted to save their lives by taking dishes full of gold to Mehmed. The sultan pocketed the money but had the nobles relieved of their heads anyway,

² Leonard of Chios, *Historia Constantinopolitanae Urbis a Mahumete II Captae*, PG 159, cols. 924–44, at 936; tr. J. R. Melville-Jones, *The Siege of Constantinople: Seven Contemporary Accounts* (Amsterdam, 1972), 30.

³ Nicolò Barbaro, *Giornale dell'assedio*, 19; Jones, *Diary*, 28. On Notaras, see PLP 20730.

⁴ Leonard of Chios, *Historia Constantinopolitanae*, 936; Melville-Jones, *Siege*, 29–30.

⁵ Leonard of Chios, *Historia Constantinopolitanae*, 942–3; Melville-Jones, *Siege*, 39–40.

remarking that they should have given their gold to their emperor and so saved their city.⁶

It is not easy to know how to interpret these allegations. Edward Gibbon, in his usual robust manner, took them literally as yet further evidence that Greeks in general were 'pusillanimous and base'. Others, such as Steven Runciman, have reacted against such simplistic stereotyping and dismissed the accusations as Latin slander.⁷ Tempting though this approach is, it simply will not do. The fact is that some Greek sources, such as Pseudo-Sphrantzes and the Barberini Chronicle, say much the same thing about Iagaris, Notaras, and wealthy Constantinopolitans in general. Admittedly these works are late and unreliable and may well have derived some of their information from Leonard of Chios himself, but they seem to bear witness to an independent Greek tradition when Loukas Notaras is specifically identified as one of those who tried to buy Mehmed II off with hoarded treasure.⁸ More recently, Nevra Necipoğlu has argued that a recently discovered hoard of 158 Palaiologan silver coins may well be some of that hidden wealth described in the sources which its owner was never able to retrieve.⁹

So the problem remains. While a literal interpretation of these slurs simply reflects Leonard of Chios's own prejudices, there is too much evidence just to wish them away. This chapter will attempt to resolve the issue by setting the perceived behaviour of the Byzantine nobles in the context of the social changes that had been taking place in Constantinople in the century before the Turkish conquest and arguing that their conduct reflected the shift from a hierarchical, court-based aristocracy to a mercantile elite.

⁶ Agostino Pertusi, *Testi inediti e poco noti sulla caduta di Costantinopoli*, ed. A. Carile (Bologna, 1983), 26; Nicolò Barbaro, *Giornale dell'assedio*, 66; Jones, *Diary*, 77–8; C. Desimoni, 'Della conquista di Costantinopoli per Maometto II nel MCCCCLIII, opuscolo di Adamo di Montaldo', *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, 10 (1874), 339; L. Ropes Loomis, 'The Fall of Constantinople Symbolically Considered', in *Essays in Intellectual History Dedicated to James Harvey Robinson by his Former Seminar Students* (New York and London, 1929), 248–53; N. Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins* (Cambridge, 2009), 213, 225–7.

⁷ Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. B. Bury (London, 1897–1900), vii. 177; S. Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople, 1453* (Cambridge, 1965), 91–2; R. Crowley, *Constantinople* (London, 2005), 262, 264; E. Pears, *The Destruction of the Greek Empire and the Story of the Capture of Constantinople by the Turks* (London, 1903), 241–2.

⁸ Pseudo-Sphrantzes (Makarios Melissenos), *Chronica, 1258–1481*, ed. V. Grecu, in *George Sphrantzes, Memorii*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1966), 432–5; tr. M. Carroll, *A Contemporary Greek Source for the Siege of 1453* (Amsterdam, 1985), 82–3; *Chronicle of the Turkish Sultans (According to Barb. Graecus Codex 111)*, ed. G. T. Zoras (Athens, 1958), 86; tr. M. Philippides, *Byzantium, Europe and the Early Ottoman Sultans (1373–1513)* (New Rochelle, NY, 1990), 67. On the influence of Leonard, see M. Philippides, 'The Fall of Constantinople 1453: Bishop Leonardo Giustiniani and his Italian Followers', *Viator*, 29 (1988), 195–6.

⁹ Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between Ottomans and Latins*, 226.

In exploring these changes, the year 1360 is as good a place to start as any since it was at some point between then and 1380 that the city of Adrianople fell to the Turks, marking the culmination of the slow process by which Constantinople had been deprived of its hinterland.¹⁰ The loss of Thrace and Macedonia would have robbed the wealthier citizens of Constantinople once and for all of the income from the often vast landed estates that they had once owned there. To take one example, that held by the Kantakouzenos family during the early fourteenth century was reported to have contained no less than 5,000 head of cattle and 70,000 sheep.¹¹ All that was now gone and although much of the Peloponnese remained in Byzantine hands and well-to-do individuals such as George Gemistos Plethon owned estates there, this area was cut off from the capital by land. Its landowners had come to form a local aristocracy, quite distinct from their counterparts in Constantinople.¹²

The final loss of Thrace came at a time when the aristocracy of Constantinople was losing another of its sources of wealth and power, preferment and patronage at the imperial court. In the past, the theory had been that the emperor was the fountain of all good things, providing for the common good through his generosity and love of mankind. The aristocracy had tapped into this 'fountain of gold' by obtaining office at court along with its appropriate salary. The tenth-century western visitor to Constantinople, Liudprand of Cremona, left a graphic description of the special ceremony which was held over seven days during the week before Palm Sunday, when each courtier appeared before the emperor to receive his salary in the form of heavy sacks of gold.¹³ As the empire shrank, however, imperial beneficence diminished with it. Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328) was reduced to paying his mercenaries in debased coin¹⁴ and by the early fifteenth century his successors were virtually bankrupt and in no position to hand out sackfuls of largesse. The

¹⁰ For various dates for the fall of Adrianople, 1361, 1369, and 1380, see I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, 'La Conquête d'Andrinople par les Turcs: La Pénétration turque en Thrace et la valeur des chroniques ottomanes', *TM* 1 (1965), 439–61; E. A. Zachariadou, 'The Conquest of Adrianople by the Turks', *Studi Veneziani*, 12 (1970), 211–17, and repr. in her *Romania and the Turks* (London, 1985), no. XII; H. İnalcık, 'The Conquest of Edirne (1361)', *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 3 (1971), 185–210; *Die Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, ed. P. Schreiner, CFHB 12 (Vienna, 1975–7), ii. 297–9; D. M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453* (Cambridge, 1993, 2nd edn.), 274.

¹¹ John Kantakouzenos, *Historiarum Libri IV*, ed. L. Schopen and B. Niebuhr, CSHB (Bonn, 1828–32), ii. 184–5.

¹² C. M. Woodhouse, *George Gemistus Plethon* (Oxford, 1986), 29–30; Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between Ottomans and Latins*, 236–43; Nicol, *Last Centuries*, 340.

¹³ Liudprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis*, in *Liudpranti Cremonensis Opera Omnia*, ed. P. Chiesa, Corpus Christianorum, 156 (Turnhout, 1998), 149–50; N. Oikonomides, 'Title and Income at the Byzantine Court', in H. Maguire (ed.), *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204* (Washington, DC, 1997), 202–6; L. Neville, *Authority in Byzantine Provincial Society, 950–1100* (Cambridge, 2004), 14–31.

¹⁴ Ramon Muntaner, *Crònica*, ed. M. Gustà (Barcelona, 1979), ii. 81; tr. R. D. Hughes, *The Catalan Expedition to the East* (Barcelona and Woodbridge, 2006), 66.

crown jewels had long since been pawned to raise a loan from Venice, never to be redeemed, and the emperor could not afford even to maintain large sections of the imperial palace, confining himself and his family to a small cramped suite of rooms.¹⁵

On the surface, the court remained at the centre of aristocratic ambitions. Dignities and offices were still prizes worth fighting for. The anonymous satirist known as Mazaris, writing in about 1414, lampooned those who jockeyed and schemed to secure their position in the hierarchy and described how the main character Holobolos grew rich and built great mansions by writing imperial decrees.¹⁶ The chronicler and courtier, George Sphrantzes, recounted how he lobbied the emperor and the Grand Duke Loukas Notaras tirelessly to get promotion either to Grand Constable or Great Logothete. It would seem, though, that these offices now brought with them honour alone, without the further inducement of hard cash. All that Sphrantzes received for his efforts was a fur robe and wooden chest.¹⁷

The ambitious elite of Constantinople would therefore have to seek alternative ways of obtaining income. Already, during the early fourteenth century, many of them seem to have become heavily involved in trade to compensate for the loss of other sources of revenue. Aristocratic participation in commerce was not necessarily anything new,¹⁸ but there were two significant differences. In the first place the stigma attached to anyone of importance involving themselves with trade, only too evident in the tone of earlier chroniclers, seems generally to have lessened, and secondly the scale of aristocratic involvement seems to have increased dramatically.¹⁹

¹⁵ Pero Tafur, *Andanças e Viajes por Diversas Partes del Mundo Avidos (1435–1439)*, ed. J. M. Ramos (Madrid, 1934), 137; tr. M. Letts, *Pero Tafur, Travels and Adventures, 1435–1439* (London, 1926), 145; T. Bertelè, 'I gioielli della corona bizantina dati in pegno alla repubblica veneta nel sec. XIV e Mastino II della Scala', in *Studi in onore de Amintore Fanfani* (Milan, 1962), ii. 91, 139; D. M. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice* (Cambridge, 1988), 259–60.

¹⁶ Mazaris, *Journey to Hades: Or Interviews with Dead Men about Certain Officials of the Imperial Court*, ed. and tr. J. N. Barry et al. (Buffalo, NY, 1975), 12–13.

¹⁷ George Sphrantzes, *Cronaca*, ed. R. Maisano, CFHB 29 (Rome, 1990), 13. 4, p. 28; 34. 1–12, pp. 124–30; tr. M. Philippides, *The Fall of the Byzantine Empire: A Chronicle by George Sphrantzes, 1401–1477* (Amherst, Mass., 1980), 29, 66–9.

¹⁸ Apparently, the empress Theodora, wife of Theophilos (829–42), had been accustomed to make money on the side by shipping goods and, according to Niketas Choniates, during the reign of Alexios III Angelos (1195–1203), Constantine Mesopotamites had assumed an important position at court because the emperor was impressed by his knowledge of commercial matters (τό ἐμπορικόν φρόνημα): Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB (Bonn, 1838), 8–9; Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J.-L. van Dieten, CFHB 11 (Berlin and New York, 1975), i. 440; tr. H. J. Magoulias, *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates* (Detroit, 1984), 242.

¹⁹ A. E. Laiou, 'The Byzantine Economy in the Mediterranean Trade System: Thirteenth–Fifteenth Centuries', *DOP* 34–5 (1980–1), 204–5; K.-P. Matschke and F. Tinnefeld, *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz* (Cologne, 2001), 175–80; A. E. Laiou, 'Economic Thought and Ideology', *EHB* iii. 1131–2; T. Kiousopoulou, *Ἡ Βασιλεὺς Οἰκονόμος: Πολιτική ἐξουσία καὶ ἰδεολογία πρὶν τὴν ἀλωση* (Athens, 2005), 42–57.

At first sight, it is far from obvious why the latter should have been the case. After all, the empire's political decline might have been expected to have closed off commercial opportunities. By 1394, the Ottoman Turks dominated the land routes in and out of Constantinople and had embarked on a long siege in an attempt to capture the city. Constantinople's seaborne trade was dominated by the Venetians and Genoese to the extent that, by the mid-fourteenth century, the Byzantine courtier and historian Nikephoros Gregoras was complaining that most of the profits of the city's trade were funnelled through the Genoese colony of Pera while the Byzantine treasury benefited scarcely at all. It was much the same with the Venetians who enjoyed almost complete immunity from Byzantine customs duties.²⁰

In fact, the situation was not as disadvantageous as might at first appear. The Turks, although an ever present danger, were also trading partners. A thriving traffic was carried on across the Bosphorus at Skoutari. Greek merchants would go there to do business and numerous Turkish merchants operated in Constantinople itself where there was an Ottoman consul in residence to oversee their interests.²¹ Constantinople was therefore able to continue to play its age-old role as an entrepôt, situated as it was on the route to the Black Sea and at the meeting point of Europe and Asia, providing the ideal place for goods from one part of the world to be brought and sold on.²² The Black Sea coast of Bulgaria, Asia Minor, and the Crimea was a source of cereals, fish, and furs, and Venetian-ruled Crete of wine and cheese. Other cargos came from Egypt and western Europe or from Asia after having been carried overland and loaded onto ships at Trebizond. Consequently, the shore along Constantinople's Golden Horn was the most populous and busy part of the city, for it was here that the merchant galleys unloaded these cargoes.²³

Just as the occupation of Constantinople's hinterland by the Turks in no way closed the door to participation in trade by Byzantine courtiers, nor did

²⁰ Nikephoros Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, ed. I. Bekker and L. Schopen, CSHB (Bonn, 1829–55), iii. 203–4; M. F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy, c.300–1450* (Cambridge, 1985), 513–36; Laiou, 'Byzantine Economy', 216; K.-P. Matschke, 'The Late Byzantine Urban Economy, Thirteenth–Fifteenth Century', *EHB* ii. 480–1.

²¹ Bertrandon de la Brocquière, *Le Voyage d'Outremer*, ed. C. Schefer (Paris, 1892), 163; tr. G. R. Kline (New York, 1988), 105; Giacomo Badoer, *Il Libro dei conti di Giacomo Badoer*, ed. U. Dorini and T. Bertelè (Rome, 1956), 139, 402, 425, 483; G. P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, DC, 1984), 190–1; Matschke, 'Late Byzantine Urban Economy', 480–1; Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between Ottomans and Latins*, 138–9.

²² Laiou, 'Byzantine economy', 180.

²³ Ruy González Clavijo, *Embajada a Tamorlán*, ed. F. López Estrada (Madrid, 1943), 57–8; tr. G. Le Strange, *Embassy to Tamerlane* (London, 1928), 88–9; Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice*, 294–5; J.-C. Hocquet, 'Ships, Sailors and Maritime Activity in Constantinople (1436–1440)', *Journal of European Economic History*, 30 (2001), 545, 547–8; D. Jacoby, 'Cretan Cheese: A Neglected Aspect of Venetian Medieval Trade', in E. E. Kittell and T. F. Madden (eds.), *Medieval and Renaissance Venice* (Urbana, Ill., and Chicago, 1999), 58.

the domination of the city's commerce by the Italians. The emperor may not have drawn much benefit in the form of taxation but the Venetians and Genoese provided the prerequisites for others to take advantage of Constantinople's position, namely shipping and banking, and were perfectly happy for other people to pay to make use of these facilities. Anyone could enter into what the Venetians called a *colleganza*, other Italians a *commenda*, and the Greeks a *syntropheia*: a partnership with a merchant who needed capital. The investor provided the finance to buy the cargo and provision the ship, and then reaped the rewards with a percentage of the profits when the voyage came to an end.²⁴ Many members of the Byzantine aristocracy took advantage of this opportunity. In the late fourteenth century, for example, John Mamalis formed a *syntropheia* with Andreas Argyropoulos, probably for a voyage to Wallachia to collect furs. Cargoes financed by Constantinopolitan investors can be traced as far afield as London.²⁵

By the early fifteenth century, however, there were much more sophisticated and secure ways of profiting from Italian trade than through a risky *commenda*. Money could be deposited with a bank or commission agent who would then invest it and provide a return to the investor.²⁶ Another route was through retail sales. Imported goods, usually cloth, could be purchased from Italian shippers and then sold on at a profit. In the same way, goods such as grain, skins, wool, and raw silk could be sold to the Italians for export.²⁷

A prominent example of Byzantine family that made its money by these means is that of Notaras. Originally from Monemvasia, the Notaras clan had moved to Constantinople in the mid-fourteenth century. Once established in the capital the family prospered through astute business activity, such as buying and selling large quantities of grain.²⁸ Consequently, the founder of

²⁴ F. C. Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore and London, 1973), 52–3, 138–40; R. S. Lopez and I. W. Raymond, *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World* (New York, 2001, 3rd edn.), 174–6; A. E. Laiou, 'Venetians and Byzantines: Investigation of Forms of Contact in the Fourteenth Century', *Thesaurismata*, 22 (1992), 34–5; eadem, 'In the medieval Balkans: Economic Pressures and Conflicts in the Fourteenth Century', in S. Vryonis (ed.), *Byzantine Studies in Honor of Milton V. Anastos* (Malibu, Calif., 1985), 144; eadem, 'Byzantine Economy', 199–200; Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between Ottomans and Latins*, 192–4.

²⁵ Laiou, 'Byzantine Economy', 20–2. For other examples: Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between Ottomans and Latins*, 156–62; K.-P. Matschke, 'Commerce, Trade, Markets and Money: Thirteenth–Fifteenth Centuries', *EHB* ii. 791–9, 805; J. Harris, 'More Malmsey, Your Grace? The Export of Greek Wine to England in the Later Middle Ages', in L. Brubaker and K. Linardou (eds.), *Eat, Drink and be Merry (Luke 12:19)* (Aldershot, 2007), 253.

²⁶ F. C. Lane, *Andrea Barbarigo, Merchant of Venice, 1418–1449* (Baltimore, 1944), 94–7, 202–5; P. Spufford, *Power and Profit* (London, 2002), 43.

²⁷ Laiou, 'Byzantine Economy', 204.

²⁸ Giacomo Badoer, *Libro dei Conti*, 108–9, 139, 148, 153, 202, 285, 354, 376; K.-P. Matschke, 'The Notaras Family and its Italian Connections', *DOP* 49 (1995), 65; T. Ganchou, 'Le Rachat des Notaras après la chute de Constantinople ou les relations "étrangères" de l'élite Byzantine au XV^e siècle', in M. Balard and A. Ducellier (eds.), *Migrations et diasporas méditerranéennes (X^e–XVI^e siècles)* (Paris, 2002), 158–61.

the family's fortunes, Nicholas Notaras, was able to bequeath a considerable fortune to his son Loukas. When Loukas married off his three eldest daughters between 1445 and 1453 he was able to provide each of them with a dowry of no less than 20,000 gold hyperpera.²⁹

The Notaras family were to some extent *arrivistes*, who had used their business acumen to make their fortune in the capital. There are, however, plenty of examples of old-established Byzantine families who provided an income for themselves through business and trade. Theodore Vatatzes, who was the bearer of an old imperial name, had commercial interests on the island of Crete and frequently bought and sold goods in Constantinople.³⁰ Another example is Manuel Palaiologos Iagaris, in all probability the same individual who was accused by Leonard of Chios of embezzling the funds meant for the repair of the Land Walls.³¹ Iagaris held the office of Grand Stratopedarch and from his name appears to have had some kind of kinship with the imperial family. He was certainly favoured enough at court to accompany the future John VIII Palaiologos (1425–48) to Italy in 1423–4 and trusted enough to be chosen as one of a delegation that was sent to Mistra at the end of 1448 to escort the new emperor, Constantine XI, back to Constantinople.³² On the other hand, he was also involved in commercial activities. He, or another member of his family, appears frequently in the account books of the Venetian notary, Giacomo Badoer, between 1436 and 1439. In December 1436, for example, 'Palaeologo Jagari' bought a quantity of blue cloth worth 27 hyperpera. Other transactions refer to 'Miser Manoli Jagari'.³³

Thus, by the 1430s, as a result of changes that had been going on since the early fourteenth century, Constantinople had in many ways come to resemble not so much the capital of a great empire as a city-state. The developments that had been taking place there provide numerous striking parallels with the city republics of Italy. For example, in both societies, the traditional

²⁹ Ganchou, 'Le Rachat', 164; idem, 'Hélène Notara Gateliousaina d'Ainos et le Sankt Peter-burg Bibl. Publ. Gr. 243', *REB* 56 (1998), 151. On Nicholas Notaras see *PLP* 20733.

³⁰ T. Ganchou, 'Giacomo Badoer et Kyr Théodôros Batatzès, "chomercier di pesi" à Constantinople', *REB* 61 (2003), 56, 61–2. The aristocracy of Thessalonica was also heavily involved in mercantile activity: Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between Ottomans and Latins*, 74–7.

³¹ On Iagaris see: I. G. Leontiades, 'Die griechische Delegation auf dem Konzil von Ferrara-Florenz', *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum*, 21 (1989), 383; T. Ganchou, 'Sur quelques erreurs relatives aux derniers défenseurs grecs de Constantinople en 1453', *Thesaurismata*, 25 (1995), 64–7; *PLP* 7810.

³² R. Predelli, *I Libri Commemoriali della repubblica di Venezia—regesti* (Venice, 1876–1914), iv. 52 (= bk 11, no. 136); N. Iorga, 'Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XV^e siècle. IV: Documents politiques', *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 5 (1897), 155; George Sphrantzes, *Cronaca*, 29. 4, p. 102; Philippides, *Fall of the Byzantine Empire*, 7; *Die Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, i. 269.

³³ Giacomo Badoer, *Libro dei Conti*, 51: 'Per l'amontar de pichi 9 de peza una turchina vendi a Paleologo Jagari'. Also *ibid.* 783, 784, 785; Matschke, 'Commerce, Trade, Markets', 795; Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between Ottomans and Latins*, 212–13.

aristocracies (landowners in Italy, office holders in Byzantium) were involved in trade and commerce in a way that they were not in France, England, or the western Empire. In neither was there, in general, any stigma attached to prominent citizens being involved with trade although, as we shall see, there was criticism in some quarters. In both, new families that had come to prominence as a result of their success in commerce were active in affairs of state.³⁴ The urban landscape of Constantinople had even started to resemble that of an Italian city. Where once the skyline had been dominated by the domes of churches and tall columns, a new feature had appeared as many wealthy households marked their status by attaching a lofty tower to their mansion. The Notaras family built one as did Theodore Palaiologos Kantakouzenos (d. 1410), a member of the imperial family who had commercial dealings with Venetian merchants. His mansion and tower lay in the south-western corner of Constantinople and the lavishness of their construction attracted excited comment. Such towers were a feature of the houses of powerful merchant families in medieval Italian cities and those in Constantinople were possibly built in deliberate imitation of them.³⁵

Such parallels should not be pressed too far since it goes without saying that there remained very great differences between Constantinople and the Italian city states. Yet it would seem that these developments did have one far-reaching side effect. They meant that the Byzantine aristocracy could no longer unquestioningly identify their interests with those of the emperor and the empire. Now that the emperor himself was no longer their main source of income, there was the possibility of conflict of loyalty. After all what was good for the empire might not necessarily have been good for the personal financial interests of its leading nobles. It is this point that will be investigated in the last section of this chapter.

When it comes to late Byzantine ideals about loyalty and political obligation, historians are fond of quoting the letter written by the Patriarch of Constantinople, Anthony IV, to the Grand Duke of Moscow in around 1393. Chiding the Russian ruler for his assertion that there was now a church but no emperor, the patriarch described the Byzantine ruler as the 'single emperor whose laws, ordinances and decrees hold throughout the world' as if nothing had changed since the days of Constantine the Great. Anthony was

³⁴ D. Waley, *The Italian City-Republics* (Harlow, 1988, 3rd edn.), 118; G. A. Brucker, *Renaissance Florence* (Berkeley-Los Angeles and London, 1969), 94, 102–3.

³⁵ U. Peschlow, 'Mermerkule: Ein spätbyzantinischer Palast in Konstantinopel', in B. Borkopp et al. (eds.), *Studien zur byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte: Festschrift für Horst Hallenleben zum 65. Geburtstag* (Amsterdam, 1995), 93–7; D. Bernicolas-Hatzopoulos, 'Deux fortresses urbaines à Constantinople pendant la fin du XIV^e siècle et la première moitié du XV^e', *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, 21 (1982), 147–9; Kioussopoulou, *Βασιλεύς Οικονόμος*, 32–4. On Theodore Palaiologos Kantakouzenos, see Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between Ottomans and Latins*, 197–8, 212; *PLP* 10966.

not unaware of the changes that had taken place. He was writing from a city that was surrounded by the Ottoman Turks and he must have known that the emperor's writ scarcely ran beyond the walls of Constantinople. In all probability, the patriarch had in mind some kind of spiritual reality which transcended the vagaries of worldly affairs. Nevertheless, his words bear testimony to a standard belief that the Byzantine emperor remained the ultimate focus of loyalty for all true, Orthodox Christians.³⁶

It is unlikely that Notaras, Iagaris, and other Byzantine courtiers would have disagreed with the sentiment. The commercialization of their class, however, was making it increasingly difficult for them to adhere to the old ideology. The bankruptcy of the emperor was compelling them to look outside their own state to advance their interests. One way in which they did this was by adopting citizenship of another state. In the Italian communes, citizenship was something that was regularly bought and sold in order to bring in skills that were in short supply or in some cases to raise hard cash.³⁷ During the fourteenth century, increasing numbers of the inhabitants of Constantinople began to seek grants of citizenship from Venice and Genoa. Many of them were precisely those people who combined the roles of courtier and merchant. In late 1398, for example, Theodore Palaiologos Kantakouzenos, who was active both in imperial service and in dealings with Italian merchants, received the privilege of citizenship from the Doge of Venice.³⁸ In April 1397, Nicolas Notaras, who served the Byzantine emperor as interpreter and diplomat and who had also greatly increased the fortunes of his family through trade, was likewise honoured.³⁹ In December 1394, it was the turn of Demetrios Skaranos, a man who was both part of the court circle in Constantinople and a commercial agent.⁴⁰ Loukas Notaras received Genoese citizenship

³⁶ *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi Sacra et Profana*, ed. F. Miklosich and W. Müller (Vienna, 1860–90), i. 190–2; tr. E. Barker, *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium from Justinian I to the Last Palaeologus* (Oxford, 1957), 194–6. Cf. G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, tr. J. M. Hussey (Oxford, 1968, 2nd edn.), 553–4; Nicol, *Last Centuries*, 299–300; J. W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425)* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1969), 105–10; J.-L. van Dieten, 'Politische Ideologie und Niedergang im Byzanz der Palaiologen', *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, 6 (1979), 3.

³⁷ Waley, *Italian City-Republics*, 22, 66; W. M. Bowsky, 'Medieval Citizenship: The Individual and the State in the Commune of Siena, 1287–1355', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 4 (1967), 200–1, 203, 209, 218.

³⁸ Archivio di Stato, Venice, Privilegi, Reg. 1, fo. 129^v; *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum*, ed. G. M. Thomas and R. Predelli (Venice, 1880–99), ii. 261.

³⁹ Archivio di Stato, Venice, Privilegi, Reg. 1, fos. 125, 178^v; Barker, *Manuel II*, 486–7.

⁴⁰ Archivio di Stato, Venice, Privilegi, Reg. 1, fo. 113. Skaranos is alleged to have been involved with the shipping of timber to Alexandria and acted as financial agent for the immensely wealthy John Laskaris Kalopheros: Mazaris, *Journey to Hades*, 46–7, where he is referred to as 'Mouskaranos'; K.-P. Matschke, 'Mining', *EHB* i. 115–20. In general on Skaranos, see Manuel Kalekas, *Correspondance*, ed. R.-J. Loenertz (Vatican City, 1950), 86–9; Manuel II Palaiologos, *Letters*, ed. and tr. G. T. Dennis, CFHB 8 (Washington, DC, 1977), pp. lvii–lx; PLP 26035.

in 1444.⁴¹ In April 1451, Andronikos Koumoussis, who was described as the treasurer of the Byzantine emperor and whose father had been a wealthy merchant, became a citizen of Venice.⁴²

Another way in which the late Byzantine elite looked beyond the walls of Constantinople to advance their interests is what might be termed outside investments. When Nicholas Notaras travelled to Italy and France in 1397 as part of the diplomatic drive to obtain western help for the beleaguered Byzantine capital, it would seem that he took the opportunity to conduct some family business. It is from precisely the period of his visit that the Notaras holdings in the Bank of St George in Genoa increased significantly.⁴³ The Notarades were by no means the only Byzantine family to salt money away outside Constantinople. George Goudelis also lodged money in the Bank of St George while George Philanthropenos, a high official in the service of John VIII, deposited money and goods to the value of 3,000 ducats with a Venetian merchant, Francesco Venerio. Others sought to squirrel away their valuables in the security of the Venetian colonies of Modon and Coron in the Peloponnese.⁴⁴

Neither obtaining Venetian or Genoese citizenship nor lodging valuables in Italy necessarily involved any betrayal of the Byzantine emperor. Such outside links did mean, however, that there was sometimes a divergence of interest between ruler and subject. As regards citizenship, there might well have been a number of motives for seeking it. It may sometimes have been as an insurance policy, to provide a place of refuge in the event of the worst happening at Constantinople. In many cases, the motive was commercial. As the emperor himself admitted as early as 1359, many of the Venetian citizens who were selling wine in Constantinople were, in fact, Byzantines who had obtained citizenship of the republic in order to avoid imperial taxation, a not uncommon ploy.⁴⁵ In this instance, therefore, the interests of the emperor and those of some of his nobles were directly at odds.

⁴¹ L. T. Belgrano, 'Prima serie di documenti riguardanti la colonia di Pera', *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, 13 (1877–84), 97–336.

⁴² Archivio di Stato, Venice, Privilegi reg. 1, fo. 94; N. Iorga, 'Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XV^e siècle: IV. Documents politiques', *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 8 (1900–1), 76; *Acta et Diplomata*, ii. 377–8; N. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires grecs et latins à Constantinople (XIII^e–XV^e siècles)* (Montreal and Paris, 1979), 64; PLP 13466.

⁴³ Barker, *Manuel II*, 154, 157, 159; Matschke, 'Notaras Family', 64–5.

⁴⁴ J. Harris, 'The Goudelis Family in Italy after the Fall of Constantinople', *BMGS* 33 (2009), 168–79; V. Laurent, 'Un agent efficace de l'unité de l'église à Florence: George Philanthropène', *REB* 17 (1959), 190–200; N. Iorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XV^e siècle* (Paris and Bucharest, 1899–1916), iii. 21–2; F. Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Roumanie* (Paris, 1959–61), ii. 260–1 (no. 2140), iii. 160 (no. 2835); C. N. Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce* (Paris, 1880–90), iii. 350–1.

⁴⁵ J. Chrysostomides, 'Venetian Commercial Privileges under the Palaeologi', *Studi Veneziani*, 12 (1970), 336–7 (doc. 6): 'Dominus Imperator videtur lamentari est de vino quod venditur ad spinam per nostros Venetos, quorum maior pars Imperator dicit esse Grecos suos'. Cf. Bowsky, 'Medieval Citizenship', 203–4.

The same can be said about outside investments. The money salted away by Nicholas Notaras in Genoa was to stand his family in good stead later on, providing the fortune which sustained several of its members in exile in Italy in the second half of the fifteenth century.⁴⁶ Demetrios Rhaoul Kavakes, who lived apparently comfortably and independently as an exile in Rome between about 1466 and 1487 must almost certainly have had similar resources at his disposal. His easy transition is in stark contrast to that of the Palaiologoi whose last representatives in Italy lived a life of poverty on a meagre papal pension.⁴⁷ In short, those with citizenship of Venice or Genoa or investments abroad did not have all their eggs in the basket of Constantinople and so their interests were not as tightly bound up with the city's survival under the existing regime as those of previous generations had been.

It might be objected that the possibility that a conflict of loyalty that might arise as a consequence of such outside interests is not supported by the direct evidence of contemporaries. It is not something that is mentioned or discussed in accounts of the period by Sphrantzes or Sylvester Syropoulos or by later writers such as Doukas or Laonikos Chalkokondyles. The only reason we know about the citizenship grants and the outside investments is thanks to surviving archival documents. The fact is that contemporary Byzantines were aware of the problem and were prepared to discuss it. They did so, however, in way that makes it difficult for the modern reader immediately to realize that they were doing so. Such discussions were couched in what J. G. A. Pocock termed 'the language in which men may be found articulating and communicating as part of the activity and the culture of politics'.⁴⁸ In Byzantium that language was closely focused on the office and personality of the emperor. One of its most obvious manifestations is in the great historians of the middle Byzantine period, such as Niketas Choniates and Michael Attaleiates, who explored socio-economic and political changes in terms of the moral qualities of the imperial person.⁴⁹ By the early fifteenth century, historiography, as a genre, seems to have been in abeyance but the imperial office was still the focus of political language. The concerns of the day had altered the discussion slightly, however. There was now much more focus on Orthodox faith as a

⁴⁶ *Ecthesis Chronica and Chronicon Athenarum*, ed. S. P. Lampros (London, 1902), 17; tr. M. Philippides, *Emperors, Patriarchs and Sultans of Constantinople* (Brookline, Mass., 1990), 53; Matschke, 'Notaras Family', 67–8; D. M. Nicol, *The Byzantine Lady* (Cambridge, 1994), 98.

⁴⁷ A. Keller, 'Two Byzantine Scholars and their Reception in Italy', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 20 (1957), 363–70; S. Fassoulakis, *The Byzantine Family of Raoul-Ral(l)es* (Athens, 1973), 83–5; J. Harris, 'A Worthless Prince? Andreas Palaeologus in Rome, 1465–1502', *OCP* 61 (1995), 537–54.

⁴⁸ J. G. A. Pocock, 'Languages and their Implications: The Transformation of the Study of Political Thought', in his *Politics, Language and Time* (New York, 1973), 17.

⁴⁹ See e.g. I. P. Martín, 'Introducción', *Miguel Atalíates: Historia*, ed. and tr. I. P. Martín (Madrid, 2002), pp. xlv–xlvii; J. Harris, 'Distortion, Divine Providence and Genre in Nicetas Choniates's Account of the Collapse of Byzantium, 1180–1204', *Journal of Medieval History*, 26 (2000), 24–5.

marker of loyalty to the emperor, particularly on the question of union with the Church of Rome and whether that constituted a betrayal of traditional faith.

One example of the application of that language to a member of the new commercial elite is that of Demetrios Skaranos who has already been discussed. According to court gossip of the time, Skaranos was in 1414 considered for an embassy to the Genoese Podestà of Pera but his loyalty to the emperor was questioned. The reason given was that he inclined towards the Latin faith and was a man 'without a firm allegiance either to God or the emperor'.⁵⁰ One suspects, however, that beneath the surface it might not have been his conversion to Catholicism but his commercial interests, possibly intertwined with those of Genoa, that called his loyalty into question. After all, Manuel Chrysoloras was a Catholic convert but that did not stop him being one of the Byzantine emperor's most trusted ambassadors to the west between 1394 and 1414.⁵¹ Beneath the language, one can discern an unease about the compatibility between outside interests and loyalty to the emperor.

The same applies to Loukas Notaras. Curiously, his position on the issue of union is described in contradictory ways in the sources. He is presented him as the arch-enemy of any compromise with the Latins not only by Leonard of Chios but also by the Greek unionist chronicler Doukas, who attributes to him the famous dictum that it would be better to see the sultan's turban in Constantinople than the Latin mitre. A letter written to him by the fiercely anti-union John Eugenikos, on the other hand, chides Notaras for calling at the house of the unionist patriarch Gregory III too often.⁵² It is difficult to see how these contradictory charges can both be made to stick and it has been suggested that Notaras was probably in favour of some kind of pragmatic compromise on the matter of union with Rome.⁵³ There is, however, another way in which to resolve the problem. Clearly many people, both those for and against the union, regarded Notaras as not being as committed to the right order of things as he might have been, in view of his network of interests on the outside. They voiced that unease in the language of loyalty to the faith, both sides characterizing him as inimical to their own position.

The language of religious loyalty and disloyalty was not the only one in which contemporaries analysed these changes. Both Christian denunciation of

⁵⁰ Mazaris, *Journey to Hades*, 48–9.

⁵¹ On Manuel Chrysoloras in the West, see now J. W. Barker, 'Emperors, Embassies and Scholars: Diplomacy and Transmission of Byzantine Humanism to Renaissance Italy', in D. G. Angelov (ed.), *Church and Society in Late Byzantium* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 2009), 164–6.

⁵² Doukas, *Historia Byzantina*, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB (Bonn, 1834), 264; tr. H. J. Magoulias, *Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks* (Detroit, 1975), 210; S. P. Lampros, *Παλαιολογία καὶ Πελοποννησιακά* (Athens, 1912–30), i. 139, 145.

⁵³ Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between Ottomans and Latins*, 216–17; Kiousopoulou, *Βασιλεὺς Οικονόμος*, 115–16; A. E. Vacalopoulos, *Origins of the Greek Nation*, tr. I. Moles (New Brunswick, NJ, 1970), 192–3.

usury and profit and classical philosophy with its emphasis on the common good and civic virtue were resorted to as well. Neither was in any way new but how they were used in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century may reflect an awareness and unease about the way things were going. Fervent denunciations of usury by the Byzantine church, for example, became much more frequent in the late fourteenth century, probably prompted by a realization that the new economic situation provided opportunities for profit by a few while most of the population was excluded.⁵⁴ Similar concerns can be discerned behind the language of the interpreters of ancient philosophy. They are most apparent in the work of George Gemistos Plethon who offered a set of advice on the reform of society in two orations addressed to Manuel II Palaiologos (1391–1425) and to the Despot at Mistra, Theodore II. It is easy to dismiss Gemistos's programme as outlined in the orations as romantic nonsense, based as it all too obviously is on Plato's *Republic* in both language and content. Amongst the rhetoric of common ownership of land and the Peloponnese as the hearth and home of Hellenism, however, Gemistos makes an intriguing point. He specifically differentiates between the ruling and the merchant classes, since the former were charged with the task of securing the common good and should therefore be above such mundane matters. Again, the point was not new for it appears in the work twelfth-century Byzantine canonists. Its inclusion here, however, suggests that Gemistos was not unaware of the replacement of a court aristocracy with a mercantile one and the problems that that might raise for their participation in affairs of state, even if he uses stilted and derivative language to express it.⁵⁵

This preference for discussing social and political changes in terms of traditional ideology presents another parallel with the city-states of Italy. During the fifteenth century time-honoured institutions of civic government were being sidelined and the political process was coming firmly under the control of a narrow group, most of whose members relied on banking or trade for their fortunes. In Venice, the Senate and the Council of Ten had come to dominate decision-making, leaving the General Assembly of the citizens as merely a rubber stamp. Florence, after 1382, was dominated by conservative patricians, with power concentrated in fewer hands, providing a government that was less representative but probably much more stable and efficient.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ A. E. Laiou, 'The Church, Economic Thought and Economic Practice', in R. F. Taft (ed.), *The Christian East: Its Institutions and its Thought. A Critical Reflection* (Rome, 1996), 455–6; A. E. Laiou and C. Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy* (Cambridge, 2007), 227–30.

⁵⁵ Lampros, *Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά*, iii. 263–4; iv. 121; Eng. tr. in Barker, *Social and Political Thought*, 205–6, 208–9; Woodhouse, *Plethon*, 94, 106; Laiou, 'Economic Thought and Ideology', 1143.

⁵⁶ P. J. Jones, 'Communes and Despots: The City State in Late Medieval Italy', *TRHS* 5th ser. 15 (1965), 71–96; Brucker, *Renaissance Florence*, 128, 136; Lane, *Venice*, 109–17; D. Waley and P. Denley, *Later Medieval Europe, 1250–1520* (London, 2001, 3rd edn.), 187–90.

The language used to discuss these changes, however, was the traditional one of civic virtue and common good. Only in the following century was the driving force behind the change expressed openly. The statesman and historian Francesco Guicciardini (1483–1540) justified it by arguing that what made a government successful was not its legitimacy (as Anthony IV had asserted) but its ability to provide for the interests of its leading citizens in the form of both wealth and prestigious office.⁵⁷

That was exactly what the Byzantine emperor could not provide for his leading citizens. Their resulting attempts to secure their interests outside Constantinople would ultimately be viewed, in traditional terms, as treachery.

When it came to the final siege of Constantinople in April and May of 1453, the Byzantine elite certainly acted rather differently from their forebears. Accounts of earlier sieges such as those of 626, 674–8, and 717–18 give no indication whatsoever that Byzantine nobles were accused of colluding with the enemy. That was because their interests were so completely invested in the city that there was nothing to be gained outside it. One has only to read the plaintive laments of those who were sent into exile or dispatched on embassies to realize how central Constantinople was to the world of the Middle Byzantine nobility.⁵⁸ By contrast, when Constantinople was besieged by Mehmed II, the Byzantine aristocracy would have found itself in a difficult position. On the one hand, traditional loyalties to religion and emperor dictated that all should be sacrificed in the effort to repel the infidel attacker. On the other, commercial interest dictated caution. If the Turks were to take the city there might be a chance that they would allow matters to go on much as they had in the past, albeit under a different ruler. Resisting too strongly might only antagonize them.

They were not the only ones to have to face this choice, for the Venetians and the Genoese were in exactly the same position. The dilemma was clearly expressed by the Genoese Podestà of Pera, Angelo Lomellino, in a letter written to his brother shortly after the fall of Constantinople in June 1453. In an attempt to defend his slightly ambivalent role during the siege, Lomellino laid stress on the troops that he had clandestinely sent to assist with the defence, including his own nephew. When all was lost, however, he had sent ambassadors to the sultan, with the message 'We have a fine pact between us and asking in submissiveness that he should be willing to continue it with us'.⁵⁹ It is clear, however, that the Genoese had actually approached Mehmed

⁵⁷ Francesco Guicciardini, *Dialogo e discorsi del reggimento di Firenze*, ed. R. Palmarocchi (Bari, 1932), 13–14; tr. A. Brown, *Dialogue on the Government of Florence* (Cambridge, 1994), 12–13; M. Viroli, *From Politics to Reason of State* (Cambridge, 1992), 178–9, 183.

⁵⁸ See e.g. Constantine Manasses and Theophylact of Ochrid: C. Mango, *Byzantium* (London, 1980), 74; M. Mullett, *Theophylact of Ochrid: Reading the Letters of a Byzantine Archbishop* (Aldershot, 1997), 274–7.

⁵⁹ Agostino Pertusi, *La Caduta di Costantinopoli* (Milan, 1976), i. 44; tr. Melville-Jones, *Siege*, 132–3.

long before the city fell and had pledged their neutrality to him even while sending soldiers to fight on the walls.⁶⁰ Put simply, they had tried to steer the middle course between commercial interest and perceived religious duty.

For all their condemnation of the Genoese, the Venetians did not act very differently. When news came of Mehmed's intention to attack Constantinople preparations were made by the Senate to gather a fleet for the relief of the city and those Venetians who were actually in Constantinople participated enthusiastically in the defence. Yet the measures taken by the government in Venice lacked urgency. It was not until 7 May 1453 that Jacopo Loredan was finally given his commission to sail east with the fleet. At the same time the Senate instructed their ambassador to the sultan, Bartolomeo Marcello, who was to sail with the ships, that he was to assure Mehmed of Venice's peaceful intentions. The fleet, he was to say, was only there to escort Venetian merchant galleys and to protect the republic's interests. His main task was to try to broker a peace between Mehmed and Constantine XI. In all probability, the delay to the fleet was prompted by a hope that Mehmed would think better of the idea of taking Constantinople. When news arrived of the fall of the city, there was shock and consternation but moves were soon made to normalize commercial relations with the new regime. It was even decided on 12 July to increase the value of the gifts to be given to the sultan and his advisers from 500 to 1,200 ducats.⁶¹

The Byzantine nobles acted in much the same way as the Venetians and Genoese. When the city fell, they too seem to have sought to normalize relations with the new regime in the incident described by various chroniclers when they arrived with gifts for the victorious sultan. Yet like the Italians, they had earlier made huge efforts and sacrifices to defend Constantinople. Manuel Palaiologos Iagaris, accused by Leonard of Chios of embezzling the funds for repairing the Land Walls, seems to have been innocent of the charge. As Runciman pointed out, his name appears on several inscriptions on repaired sections of the walls, suggesting that he at least partially fulfilled his task.⁶² Similarly, Loukas Notaras was not the selfish hoarder that some accounts make him out to be. When a loan was raised to provide for the defence of Constantinople in 1453, it was the Grand Duke rather than the impecunious emperor who provided the collateral, pledging his own property.⁶³

⁶⁰ Doukas, *Historia Byzantina*, 267; Magoulias, *Decline and Fall*, 212–13. In general see: G. Olgiati, 'Notes on the Participation of the Genoese in the Defence of Constantinople', *Macedonian Studies*, 6/2 (1989), 48–58; K. Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade in the Early Ottoman State* (Cambridge, 1999), 12.

⁶¹ Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations*, iii. 184, 186, 188, 189 (nos. 2919, 2923, 2932, 2935); Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice*, 397–400; D. Romano, *The Likeness of Venice* (New Haven and London, 2007), 236–44.

⁶² A. van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople* (London, 1899), 108; Runciman, *Fall*, 92.

⁶³ G. Olgiati, 'Angelo Giovanni Lomellino: Attività politica e mercantile dell'ultimo podestà di Pera', *La Storia dei Genovesi*, ix. 167.

The final fate of Notaras, as recounted by the chronicler Doukas, may well be a literary fabrication and yet it does bring home the realities of the cruel dilemma in which the Byzantine aristocracy found itself and the all too human way in which they attempted to balance their own interests with those of the city. According to Doukas, the victorious sultan initially received Notaras kindly, paying his ransom and sending him home with his wife and children. He even visited Notaras's wife on her sick bed and promised the Grand Duke that he would have the job of administering Constantinople. It must have seemed for a moment that all would be well and that the Notaras family would maintain their wealth and influence under the new regime. It was not, of course, to be. In Doukas's version, which is notable for its hostile portrayal of Mehmed, the sultan allegedly conceived a passion for Notaras's youngest son and when the grand duke refused to give up the boy to Mehmed's unwelcome attentions, all the male members of the family were executed.⁶⁴

What is most striking here is not the dramatic and lurid nature of Doukas's portrayal of Notaras's demise but the identical way in which the ruling classes of Genoa, Venice, and Constantinople responded to the Ottoman threat to the Byzantine capital. They displayed a mixture of defiance in the face of an infidel threat and a pragmatic search to protect their source of wealth. That was because the economic interests of the leading citizens of the three cities were to all intents and purposes the same. As Alexander Kazhdan argued, the great contrast in the fifteenth century was not between an impoverished Constantinople and the thriving city-states of Italy but rather between all Mediterranean cities and those of northern Europe.⁶⁵ The fall of Constantinople could therefore be seen not the downfall of a great empire but the destruction of an embryonic city-state.

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⁶⁴ Doukas, *Historia Byzantina*, 303–6; tr. Magoulias, *Decline and Fall*, 234–5.

⁶⁵ A. Kazhdan, 'The Italian and Late Byzantine City', *DOP* 49 (1995), 22.

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Transposed Images: Currencies and Legitimacy in the Late Medieval Eastern Mediterranean

Eurydice Georganteli

Για τον Αλέξανδρο

In the late medieval eastern Mediterranean coins, seals, and medals commissioned by Christians and Muslims reflect more than any other art medium profound changes on socio-economic and political levels and increasingly complex relations between east and west. The discussion that follows analyses patterns of numismatic continuity and change in an area stretching from Ayyubid Egypt and Syria to Byzantine Trebizond and against a backdrop of porous territorial and cultural borders, contemporary literary discourse, and market logistics.¹ The story of Alexander the Great and paradigms of Roman and Byzantine rulership inspired some of the most intriguing numismatic imagery and inscriptions ever endorsed by Muslim rulers. On the other side of the spectrum borrowings of Islamic and Byzantine numismatic practices, vestimentary tradition, and ceremonial by Latins, Georgians, and Cilician Armenians resulted in quite unexpected adaptations of old and established motifs, metallic values, and weight standards. With their numismatic prototypes distorted, deconstructed, and translated into new and ambiguous

¹ This study took shape in the collegial atmosphere of the Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies at the University of Birmingham and the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum. I would like to thank in particular Dimiter Angelov and Ruth Macrides for our discussions on turbans, court protocol, and Pseudo-Kodinos; Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis, Curator of Islamic and Iranian Coins at the British Museum, and Ali Miynat, Ph.D. student in Byzantine Studies at the University of Birmingham, for their advice and help with translations and transliterations of Arabic inscriptions. Barrie Cook, Curator of Medieval and Early Modern Coinage at the British Museum, has kindly provided me with images and related information from the rich British Museum Collections. I am indebted to the Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and the 5th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities at Mystras and the State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg for images of their Alexander-related holdings.

imagery, the currencies struck in the late medieval eastern Mediterranean were used as particularly effective means for the dissemination of political agendas and cultural messages to very diverse audiences.

1. LOOKING FOR ALEXANDER: A CASE OF HISTORICAL CROSS-CULTURAL BORROWING

In the later medieval Mediterranean nearly half its coastlands were at one stage under Muslim rule. Yet changes in Islamic art during that period were more pronounced in the eastern than the western Mediterranean. While Islamic Spain and North Africa retained and refined the artistic legacy of their past, Anatolia and Syria witnessed an extraordinary array of new Islamic imagery in manuscript illuminations, pottery, metal ware, and coins. Between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries secular and religious images appeared in the coinage of Muslim rulers of Anatolia, nearly four centuries after the last figural Islamic coins were struck by Abd al-Malik. These new images referred to a distant pre-Islamic past of the area as well as to more recent and contemporary motifs encountered in the Byzantine and Crusader coinage of the eastern Mediterranean. Among the motifs, a Muslim take on a silver tetradrachm of the Hellenistic ruler Antiochos VIII (121–96 BC), created by the twelfth-century Artuqids of Mardin has puzzled modern scholars and has been viewed in the light of the Artuqids' astrological interests. I would like to develop this discussion further, and argue that, rather than belonging to an astrological or passing antiquarian context, that particular coin and a host of similar ones displaying portraits of Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine rulers (Pl. 3, Figs. 3–4) should be interpreted as part of an overall quest by Turkish rulers for continuity and legitimacy, based on Anatolia's pre-Islamic past.

The portrait of Antiochos is part of a long iconographical tradition introduced by King Lysimachos in the late fourth century BC (323–281), when he placed on his coins the head of a deified Alexander the Great. From that point onwards portraits of living rulers throughout the Hellenistic period constitute a clear departure from the ideals of the coinage of the ancient Greek *poleis*. Idealized portraits of Alexander and realistic portraits of his successors in the later Hellenistic period provided the basis for the ruler's portraiture on late Roman republican and imperial coinage and other art media. The image of Alexander himself was evoked for his heroic qualities and for his association with dominion over the east.² In that light Emperor Constantine I's decision to

² The Greek and Roman tradition about Alexander is explored by K. Dahmen, *The Legend of Alexander the Great on Greek and Roman Coins* (London and New York, 2007), D. Spencer, *The*

incorporate elements of Hellenistic iconography on his coins in 330s cannot be viewed as accidental, but as a conscious effort to project the qualities and power of a Hellenistic ruler. Later developments in Byzantine coinage shifted attention from Hellenistic ideals to the Christian image of the emperor but did little to diminish the fascination that finds of Hellenistic coins with Alexander's image exercised on the Byzantines, who appear to have worn them even as talismans.³ In the twelfth century Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine portraits re-emerge, this time in the iconography of Islamic coins. There is certainly a paradox in this numismatic phenomenon, especially considering Islam's ambivalence towards figural art, and in order to read the particular iconography we need to look beyond the coins, at the culture and varied political agendas in medieval Anatolia.

In the eleventh- to fourteenth-century eastern Mediterranean the image of Alexander was very much part of the arts and literature created by Byzantines, Latins, Armenians, and Muslims. The Alexander Romance enjoyed enormous popularity both in east⁴ and west, and its expansions and revisions in many languages reflect the transformation of a historical individual into a heroic figure and the use of Alexander as paradigm of wisdom and virtue. Of particular interest to contemporaries in the ninth to fourteenth centuries was that section of the Alexander Romance which dealt with the ascension of Alexander into heaven carried by griffins,⁵ a cross between Greek, Roman,

Roman Alexander (Exeter, 2002), and A. Kühnen, *Die Imitatio Alexandri in der Römischen Politik* (Münster, 2008).

³ John Chrysostom records with consternation the belief by some in the supernatural power of bronze coins of Alexander, which they wear around their necks and on their feet. See John Chrysostom, *Ad illuminandos catechesis* 2.5, PG 49, 240.

⁴ The issue of the circulation of the Alexander Romance in the medieval eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans has been explored in E. A. W. Budge, *The History of Alexander the Great Being the Syriac Version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes* (Cambridge, 1889); F. C. W. Aerts, *Zeven eeuwen Arabische Alexandertraditie*, Ph.D. thesis (Leiden, 2003); M. Gaster, 'An Old Hebrew Romance of Alexander', *JRAS* ns 29 (1897), 485–549; I. Levi, *Le Roman d'Alexandre: Texte hébreu anonyme* (Paris, 1887); I. J. Kazis, *The Book of the Gestes of Alexander of Macedon, Sefer Toledot Alexandros ha-Makdoni* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962); A. H. Wolohojian, *The Romance of Alexander the Great by Pseudo-Callisthenes (from the Armenian)* (Columbia, 1969); G. Traina et al. (eds.), *La storia di Alessandro il Macedone: Codice miniato armeno del secolo XIV (Venezia, ms. San Lazzaro 424)* (Padua, 2003); R. Marinković, *Srpska Alexandrida* (Belgrade, 1969); I. Köhler, *Der neubulgarische Alexanderroman* (Amsterdam, 1973); S. Vryonis, Jr., 'The Byzantine Legacy in Folk life and Tradition in the Balkans', in L. Clucas (ed.), *The Byzantine Legacy in Eastern Europe* (Boulder, Colo., 1988), 107–45, in particular 138–42; S. Gero, 'The Legend of Alexander the Great in the Christian Orient', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 75 (1993), 3–9; C. Jouanno, *Naissance et métamorphoses du roman d'Alexandre* (Paris, 2005).

⁵ On the iconography of the ascension of Alexander see V. M. Schmidt, *A Legend and its Image* (Groningen, 1995); M. Hirschbichler, *Monuments of a Syncretic Society: Wall Painting in the Latin Lordship of Athens, Greece (1204–1311)*, Ph.D. Thesis (University of Maryland, College Park, 2005), esp. the ch. 'Colorful Identities'. I would like to thank Monika Hirschbichler for kindly providing me access to her unpublished Byzantine Studies Conference (1999) paper,

Jewish, and Christian imagery. Three splendid examples of this particular theme attest to Alexander's popularity in different cultural and religious milieux. A thirteenth-century silver plate, now in the Shuryshkar Regional Museum, in Muzhi, Siberia (Pl. 1, Fig. 1a), was created in all probability in Latin-ruled Constantinople, and echoes the continuity of an iconographical tradition already established in western medieval Europe, as the twelfth-century enamel Rolls plaque from Meuse, Belgium, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, depicting the same theme, shows.⁶ A century earlier a copper gilt plate with *cloisonné*, now in the Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum in Innsbruck (Pl. 1, Fig. 1b) was either commissioned by the Artuqid ruler Ruk al-Dawla Da'ud bin Sukman (AH 502–39, AD 1109–44) or sent to him by a Byzantine emperor.⁷ Crossing from Anatolia to the Peloponnese, a fourteenth-century marble relief reused as a paving slab in the church of Peribleptos at Mistra (Pl. 2, Fig. 1c) attests to the continuity of the theme in the late Byzantine artistic tradition.

For the Islamic elites in Egypt, Persia, and Anatolia, Alexander's conquest of the world and search for wisdom were part of the fabric of epic and didactic poetry, expressing values of leadership, justice, and wisdom. Consequently, objects related to his life and legacy remained highly prized by Muslim rulers in the context of diplomatic gift-exchange with the Byzantine emperors. Al-Qadi al-Rashid Ibn al-Zubayr in his eleventh-century compilation of treasures and gifts exchanged among Muslim rulers and between Muslim and other rulers has two relevant references. In 969 a saddle and a bridle, which supposedly had belonged to Alexander the Great, were sent by the Byzantine emperor to the Fatimid Caliph al-Mu'izz. Three more saddles, purportedly also among the saddles of Alexander the Great, were sent by Emperor Michael VII in the late eleventh century to Caliph al-Mustansir.⁸ Apart from their

'The Legend of Alexander the Great in the Morea: Two Paintings from the Gatehouse of Akronauplia, Greece', and for sharing information from her Ph.D. thesis.

⁶ On the silver plate see B. Marshak and M. Kramarovskiy (eds.), *Sokrovishcha Priob'ia* (St Petersburg, 1996), 26–41, 222, 225; H. C. Evans and W. D. Wixom (eds.), *The Glory of Byzantium* (New York, 1997), 399–401. The Rolls plaques are discussed in M. Campbell, 'The Rolls Plaques', *National Art-Collections Fund Review* (1989), 99–102.

⁷ On possible links between the Innsbruck vessel and Constantinopolitan secular art see V. P. Darkevich, *Svetiskoe iskusstvo Vizantini; Proizvedeniia vizantinilsk khudozh remesla v. Vost. Evrope X-XIII v.* (Moscow, 1975), 100–17; T. Steppan (ed.), *Die Artuqiden Schale im Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum Innsbruck* (Munich, 1995). On the attribution of the Innsbruck vessel to a Georgian workshop see S. Redford, 'How Islamic is it? The Innsbruck Plate and its Setting', *Muqarnas*, 7 (1990), 119–35. See also Evans and Wixom (eds.), *Glory of Byzantium*, 422–3, where relevant literature can be found.

⁸ Accounts 97–9 by Al-Qadi al-Rashid Ibn al-Zubayr. See M. Hamidullah (ed.), *Kitab al-Dhakha'ir wa al-Tuhaf* (Kuwait, 1959); idem, *Book of Gifts and Rarities* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996). The description of the objects involved in the gift exchange in Ibn al-Zubayr's book offers some precious insight in the symbolic and real value of diplomatic gifts sent by Byzantine emperors to Fatimid caliphs. A very interesting discussion of those objects is provided in

obvious monetary value—the saddles offered to al-Mustansir were of enamel inlaid with gold—those objects were charged with symbolic meaning because of their particular association.

While Ibn al-Zubayr was creating his anthology of real and symbolic gifts, Yusuf Khash Hajib was completing in AD 1069/80 (AH 462) in faraway Kashgar his *Wisdom of Royal Glory*, in which he advised the Karakhanid Prince of Kashgar on a wide array of subjects essential for responsible statemanship. Contemplation of mortality and the transient nature of earthly glory are brought up in one of the concluding chapters of this long didactic poem. Yusuf's list of remarkable rulers who completed great deeds but did not escape death consists of Caesar, King Chosroes, and Alexander who 'conquered of the whole world',⁹ these three names becoming the common designation of the splendour of the Roman, Sasanian, and Hellenistic Empires accordingly. Considering the key location of the city of Kashgar and of the Karakhanid khanate in Central Asia, Yusuf's references are not accidental. In an area where Greek culture brought by Alexander's expeditions met with the Persian and Chinese world,¹⁰ pre-Islamic illustrious rulers remained very much part of the history of the newly Islamized Karakhanid dynasty.

Another striking example can be found in the book of advice composed in AD 1082 (AH 475) by Prince Kai Ka'us ibn Iskandar for his son. The content and style in *Qabus Nama*¹¹ reflect the gradual transformation of the Ziyarid princely dynasty from brutal warriors to princes well versed in the arts of their time. The world of Kai Ka'us, prince of the south Caspian provinces of Gilan, Tabaristan, and Jurgan (or Gurgan), and vassal to the Seljuq Turks, was culturally fluid and politically uncertain. In that world Kai Ka'us's steady points of reference seem to have been both his own experience and reflections based on the wisdom of ancient Greek philosophers, such as Plato and Socrates, and statesmen, such as Alexander and 'the kings of Byzantium'.¹²

O. Grabar, 'The Shared Culture of Objects', in H. Maguire (ed.), *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204* (Washington, DC, 1997), 115–29, repr. in his *Islamic Visual Culture, 1100–1800* (Aldershot, 2006), no. IV.

⁹ Y. K. Hajib, *Wisdom of Royal Glory (Kutadgu Bilig)* with an introduction and notes R. Dankoff (Chicago and London, 1983), appendix 1: 256, §6547.

¹⁰ The location of the Karakhanid khanate on one of the arteries of the Great Silk Route, played a key role in its development as a major transit centre for western–eastern trade throughout the Middle Ages, and greatly influenced its economic power, art, and society. On the city of Osh under the Karakhanids as a case study, see G. Aynkulova, 'İslam Müelliflerine Göre Ortaçağ'da Oş Şehri', *Belleten*, 65/244 (2001), 911–20. The multifaceted profile of central Asia after Alexander and before the Islamic conquest is thoroughly explored in a collection of papers published by the British Academy: J. Cribb and G. Hermann (eds.), *After Alexander: Central Asia Before Islam* (Oxford, 2007).

¹¹ Kai ka'us, *A Mirror for Princes: The Qabus Nama by Kai Ka'us ibn Iskandar*, tr. R. Levy (London, 1951).

¹² References to Plato (ibid. 31), Socrates (ibid. 33, 132), and Alexander (ibid. ch. 6; ch. 29, pp. 136–7; ch. 42) reflect the author's knowledge of Greek literature, which was widely available

In the Persian epic *Shahnama* (*The Book of Kings*), written by Firdowsi in the eleventh century, Alexander the Great is included in the story of the ancient kings and heroes of Iran. The Great Mongol *Shahnama*, a magnificent copy commissioned in all probability by Vizier Ghiyath-al-Din at the Ilkhanid court at Tabriz in the 1330s (Pl. 2, Fig. 2), further highlights Alexander's position as world leader by including additional scenes from Alexander's story not encountered in other copies, and by dedicating over one-fifth of all its fifty-eight illustrations to him, who conquered the entire world but failed to defeat death.¹³ A mixture of Chinese, Mongol, and Persian style throughout the book interweave with elements of Italian art in the funerary scene of Alexander, where mourners proceeding in three choirs around Alexander's bier resemble figures from a Giottesque composition.¹⁴

The exploits of Alexander the Great (Eskander) recounted already in the *Shahnama*, became the subject of *Sikandar Nama* otherwise known as the *Book of Alexander*, created by the twelfth-century Persian poet Nizami.¹⁵ A great mixture of history and poetry and heavily stylized in its presentation, Nizami's account of Alexander's exploits borders on hagiography.¹⁶

This special position of Alexander in the history of the area is further elaborated in genealogies and universal histories composed in Islamic courtly circles, as well as in correspondence between Muslim and Byzantine rulers. The *History of the World* written by Rashid al-Din under the Ilkhanid ruler of Iran Oljeitu (AD 1304–16) has an informative section on Europe, entitled the

in Syria, Mesopotamia, and Iran, following the conquests of Alexander the Great, the blossoming of monastic life in Syria, and the founding of schools by Nestorians, where Greek medicine and philosophy were taught. Kai Ka'us's idea about the proper conduct of kingship could not be complete without allusion to Byzantine imperial practice. His reference in the form of reported speech (ibid. 230–1), demonstrates the reverence Byzantium still commanded in those lands now under Islamic rule.

¹³ On the Great Mongol *Shahnama*, previously called the 'Demotte' *Shahnama* after the art dealer Georges Demotte, who in 1910 cut up and sold the folios individually, see I. Stchoukine, 'Les Peintures du Shah-nameh Demotte', *Arts Asiatiques*, 5 (1958), 83–96; O. Grabar, 'Notes on the Iconography of the "Demotte" Shahname', in R. Pinder-Wilson (ed.), *Paintings from Islamic Lands* (London, 1969), 31–47; repr. in his *Islamic Visual Culture, 1100–1800* (Aldershot, 2006), no. VII; O. Grabar and S. Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History* (Chicago, 1980); R. Hillenbrand (ed.), *Shahnama* (Aldershot, 2004).

¹⁴ Grabar, 'Notes', 159.

¹⁵ Nizami's 'Book of Alexander the Great', known as *Sikandar Nama* or *Iskandarnama* has two parts, the first one (*Sikandar Nama, e Bara*) describing Alexander as conqueror and king, and the second one (*Sikandar Nama, e Bhari*) discussing Alexander as philosopher and prophet. On the Book of Honour see *Sikander Nama, e Bara: Book of Alexander the Great*, tr. H. W. Clarke (London, 1881).

¹⁶ M. S. Southgate, 'Portrait of Alexander in Persian Alexander-Romances of the Islamic Era', *JOAS* 97 (1977), 278–84. The Alexander Romance continued to influence literary circles in the Islamic world and beyond. See N. Gopala Pillai, 'Skanda: The Alexander Romance in India', *Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference*, 9 (Trivandrum/Thiruvananthapuram, 1937), 955–97; R. A. Skelton, 'The Iskandar Nama of Nusrat Shah', T. Falk et al. (eds.), *Indian Painting* (London, 1978), 133–52; for extensive discussion of the Ottoman treatment of the Alexander romance see Kastritsis in this volume.

'History of the Franks'. Based in all probability on the thirteenth-century *History of the Franks* of Martinus Oppaviensis,¹⁷ Rashid al-Din's annalistic account is replete with geographical and political information about western Europe. Byzantium, *the country of the Yūnān* (Ionians), represents the south-eastern border of that geographical zone, and its ruler, the *patrikios* of Macedonia (*patrik Makadoniya*) 'possesses a great army and is immensely rich'.¹⁸ The use of the archaic title *patrikios* which in effect describes the Emperors Andronikos II and Michael IX, and of the word *Macedonia* to denote the lands under Byzantine realm, and the singling out of Mount Olympus as the main geographical feature of that 'great empire' are not accidental; rather they reflect how an old geographical term had already acquired in the late Middle Ages strong historical connotations and became synonymous in the eyes of Rashid al-Din with the very essence of the Byzantine Empire. The same concept is expressed in the mythical genealogy of the rulers of al-Rum, composed by the great Mamluk encyclopedist Qalqashandi (AD 1356–1418), in which the Palaiologoi are viewed as descendants both of the Macedonian Kings Philip II and Alexander the Great and of the Roman emperors.¹⁹ Correspondence between Muslim and Byzantine rulers seems to reflect similar overtones. In the opening paragraph of a letter addressed by the Mamluk Sultan al-Nasir Hasan (1347–61) to John VI Kantakouzenos (AD 1347–54) in 1349, the sultan ascribes to the Byzantine emperor, among other titles, the extraordinary one 'sword of the kingdom of the Macedonians'.²⁰ This title was later repeated in a similar preamble, which was designed for official documents used by the chancellery of the Mamluk Sultan Mansur Salah al-Din Muhammad (AD 1361–3).²¹ More than a topographical reference to one of the Byzantine emperor's provinces, the title once again indicates one thousand years of continuity of the institution from Alexander the Great to a late Byzantine emperor, in this case John V Palaiologos.

Reuse and incorporation of Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine architectural spolia and sculpture in numerous Islamic buildings across Anatolia, ranging from caravan inns to palace complexes, sheds further light on an environment of cultural appropriation by the new Islamic elite of the area. A stone parapet

¹⁷ *Histoire Universelle de Rasid al-Din Fadl Allah Abul-Khair*, I. *Histoire des Francs*, tr. K. Jahn (Leiden, 1951); S. Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles* (London, 1995).

¹⁸ *Histoire universelle*, tr. Jahn, 21–2.

¹⁹ *Nihayat al-arab fi ansab al-'Arab: Dictionary of Arab Genealogy by al-Qalqashandi*, ed. I. Alabyari (Cairo, 1959).

²⁰ M. Canard, 'Une Lettre du Sultan Malik Nasir Hasan à Jean VI Cantacuzène (750/1349)', in his *Byzance et les musulmans du Proche Orient* (London, 1973), no. X; see also D. A. Korobeinikov, 'Diplomatic Correspondence between Byzantium and the Mamluk Sultanate in the Fourteenth Century', *Al-Masaq*, 16 (2004), 53–74.

²¹ Reference to the preamble can be found in *Subh al-a'sha* composed by Qalqashandi: H. Lammens, 'Correspondance diplomatique entre les sultans mamlouks d'Egypte et les puissances chrétiennes', *ROC* 9 (1904), 87–151.

displaying Seljuk motifs among Byzantine knotted interlacing on the front and crosses with peacocks on the back side, now displayed in the museum of Ince Minereli Medrese in Konya, has been described by Y. Demiriz and Z. Mercangöz as an example of a 'shared' or 'joint production by both Byzantine and Seljuqid masters'.²² Published photographs of the object clearly point to a much simpler story; twelfth–thirteenth-century stone-carvers in Konya reused a Byzantine slab, either a tombstone or a *thorakion*, as a threshold to a Seljuk building. This architectural remnant is just one of a diverse range of spolia, which were reused across medieval Anatolia and are mentioned by L. de Laborde and C. Texier in their nineteenth-century travelogues.²³ Large numbers of coins from the Antonine period turning up in Ankara during the journeys of Texier, Seljukid city walls consisting largely of Roman and Byzantine architectural fragments and dedicatory inscriptions,²⁴ figural reliefs depicting antique funerary feasts found in almost pristine condition in the rock tombs of Myra,²⁵ all speak of the coexistence of the new inhabitants with ancient structures. Of particular interest to our discussion is the abundant Greek and Roman figural sculpture seen by C. Texier built in the walls of Konya and scattered across the city.²⁶ Among them a colossal headless statue of Hercules, an ancient funerary stele depicting a Lycaonean soldier, marble lions integrated in the gate of Bazar, and the story of Achilles in the court of Lycomedes, beautifully carved on a Roman sarcophagus, all point to the view that Seljuk rulers were able to draw from the artistic past of the area and translate it into an art which became their own. Two Seljuk winged figures flanking the gate of Bazar, which depict the angels Gabriel and Ariel, further demonstrate this cultural translation. Both Gabriel and Ariel (or Uriel), figures from the Judaeo-Christian tradition who were adopted by Islam, effortlessly assumed their traditional role of heavenly powers guarding the Seljukid city of Konya. A century later extensive use of Byzantine spolia and architectural techniques in early Ottoman buildings across Anatolia highlights once again

²² Y. Demiriz, 'Konya Müzisindeki Özel Durumdaki Bir Kabartma Hakkında', *Sanat Tarihi Araştırmaları*, iii (Istanbul, 1970), 221–30; Z. Mercangöz, 'New Approaches to Byzantine Influence on Some Ottoman Architectural Details: Byzantine Elements in the Decoration of a Building in İzmir', *EJOS* 4 (2001), 1–22.

²³ L. de Laborde, *Voyage de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1838); see also M. Önder, 'Konya Kal'asi ve Figürlü Eserleri', *VI Türk Tarih Kongresi Tebliğler* (Ankara, 1967), 145–69; S. Redford, 'The Seljuks of Rum and the Antique', *Muqarnas*, 10 (1993), 149–56. The 'iconophile' tendencies of Seljuk art are thoroughly discussed by O. Pancaroğlu, '“A World unto Himself”: The Rise of a New Human Image in the Late Seljuq Period (1150–1250)', Ph.D. dissertation (Harvard University, 2000).

²⁴ C. Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1839–49), i. 184–95 (Ankara); ii. 144 (Konya).

²⁵ Ibid. iii. 208–9, pls. 224–31.

²⁶ Ibid. ii. 144–5, pls. 97, 103.

the importance of centuries-long local expertise and building material in the Islamic architecture and culture of the area.²⁷

This leitmotif of continuity and permanence functioned also as a springboard for Turkish rulers in their quest for expansion, territorial control, and legitimacy. In 1220 the Seljuk Sultan Ala-uddin Kaikubad (AD 1220–37) and the Venetian Podestà Jacopo Tiepolo entered a treaty and exchanged documents, which are described in the Venetian source as chrysobulls.²⁸ The need for each party to model what was in effect a bilateral commercial agreement on a *chrysobullos logos* may reflect the importance and enduring appeal Byzantine political models held among the new masters of the old Byzantine lands.²⁹

There are also several Islamic coins which further elaborate those ideas of continuity and legitimacy. Among them two types, struck in the Danishmendid-controlled region of Sivas-Kayseri-Malatya-Kastamonu in central and north-eastern Anatolia, are of particular interest to our discussion. A copper fals issued by the ruler of Sivas (Byzantine Sebasteia) Nasir al-Din Mohammad (AH 528–36, AD 1134–42) describes him on its obverse and reverse inscriptions written in Greek as ‘The Grand Malik of all Romania and the East, Muhammed’ (Pl. 3, Fig. 5).³⁰ Of importance are the Greek script used on the coin, the titles assumed by the Danishmendid ruler, and the territories over which he puts his claim. The use of Greek script in the inscription follows the adoption of Greek script and Byzantine iconography by his father, Amir Gazi Gümüştekin, on his coins and mirrors superbly the political and cultural complexity of this part of late medieval Anatolia. Amir Gazi Gümüştekin’s

²⁷ R. Ousterhout, ‘Ethnic Identity and Cultural Appropriation in Early Ottoman Architecture’, *Muqarnas*, 12 (1995), 48–62.

²⁸ *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante vom neunten bis zum Ausgang des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*, ed. L. E. Tafel and G. M. Thomas (Vienna, 1856–7; repr. Amsterdam, 1964), ii. 221–5; M. E. Martin, ‘The Venetian–Seljuk Treaty of 1220’, *EHR* 95 (1980), 321–9; H. Theunissen, ‘Ottoman–Venetian Diplomats: The Ahd-Names. The Historical Background and the Development of a Category of Political–Commercial Instruments Together with an Annotated Edition of a Corpus of Relevant Documents’, *EJOS* 1/2 (1998), 1–698, esp. 56–67.

²⁹ Unlike this concrete example of imitation of a grand Byzantine tradition, I would not go as far as to share S. Redford’s view that the fashion in which Izz al-Din Kaykaus II entered Sinope in 1214 and the distribution of coins by the city’s notables after the sultan’s arrival (H. W. Duda, *Die Seltschukengeschichte des Ibn Bibī* (Copenhagen 1959), 66–7) follow the Roman and Byzantine triumph and scattering of largesse (see Redford, ‘The Seljuks of Rum’).

³⁰ On the Danishmendid dynasties see I. Melikoff, *La Geste de Melik Danismend* (Paris, 1960). For a discussion of Danishmendid coins see G. Schlumberger, ‘Les Monnaies à légendes grecques de la dynastie turque des fils du Danismend’, *RA* (1880), 7–20 (= *Mélanges d’archéologie byzantine* (Paris, 1895), 7–20; P. Casanova, ‘Numismatique des Danichmendites’, *RN* 3rd ser. 5 (1887), 68–75; E. Whelan, ‘A Contribution to Danishmendid History: The Figured Copper coins’, *ANSMN* 25 (1980), 133–66. On the particular coin type see P. Casanova, ‘Numismatique des Danishmendites’, *RN* 3rd ser. 14 (1896), 215–21; R. Shukurov, ‘Turkoman and Byzantine Self-Identity: Some Reflections on the Logic of the Title-Making in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Anatolia’, in A. Eastmond (ed.), *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium* (Aldershot, 2002), 259–76, in particular 264–72.

second son Yaghibasan opts for the title *Ο ΔΟΥΛΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ* (The *oikeios*/subject of the emperor) on his seals, which echoes his alliance in 1146 with the Byzantine emperor against the Seljuk Sultan Masud.³¹ In comparison to the title *Ο ΔΟΥΛΟΣ* adopted by his brother Nasir al-Din Mohammad's self-definition sounds far more ambitious. The terms *ΠΑΣΗΣ ΡΩΜΑΝΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΤΟΛΗΣ* denote not only former Byzantine territories, now under Danishmendid control, but the whole of Byzantine lands (*ΡΩΜΑΝΙΑ*) and the East (*ΑΝΑΤΟΛΗ*) as in the late Roman and Byzantine administrative sense of the prefecture of *Orient*/*Ανατολή* over which Mohammad had aspirations of ruling.³² A second copper fals struck also at Sivas by 'Imad al-Din Dhul al-Nun (AD 1142–75) son of Nasir al-Din Mohammad partly follows the titles adopted by his father, the reverse inscription now in Arabic reading as 'The Malik of the Land of Rum and all Armenia'.³³

In 1478 three centuries after the expansionist claims of Danishmendids, Seljuks, Artuqids, and Mamluks, Mehmet II struck the first Ottoman gold coins in the mint of Constantinople, now known as Konstantiniye.³⁴ In the late 1470s and 1480s Italian artists visiting Mehmet's court depicted him on medals and portraits that were intended for distribution mainly to dignitaries and a well-heeled western elite.³⁵ Both Mehmet's *sultani* and medals constitute each in their own way a radical departure from traditional Ottoman monetary practices and iconographical conventions. The *sultani*, which complemented a system of silver *aspra* and copper *mangir*, aimed at competing with florins and ducats, until then the dominant gold currency in Balkan and eastern Mediterranean markets. Mehmet's *sultani* provided the model for Ottoman gold coins for about three centuries, and bridged the gap in the production of a gold legal tender in the former Byzantine Empire, which since the mid-fourteenth century had abandoned the use of hyperpyra. By striking

³¹ N. Oikonomides, 'Les Danishmendides, entre Byzance, Bagdad et le Sultanat d'Iconium', *RN* 25 (1983), 189–207.

³² On a wider geopolitical definition of the two terms see also Shukurov, 'Turkoman and Byzantine Self-Identity', 265–72, where he convincingly argues against a narrow definition of the two words, as expressed by P. Wittek and N. Oikonomides: (P. Wittek, 'Le Sultan de Rum', *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, 6 (1938), 364–7; Oikonomides, 'Danishmendides', 201–2.

³³ On the reading of the coin see Whelan, 'Danishmendid Figured Copper Coins', 154–6; Shukurov, 'Turkoman and Byzantine Self-Identity', 266, 271.

³⁴ R. Kocaer, *Gold Coins of the Ottoman Empire* (Istanbul, 1967); T. C. Kultlut Bakanligi, *Nadir Osmanlı Sikke, Nişan ve Madalyalar* (Istanbul, 1999). On Mehmet II see F. Babinger, *Mehmet the Conqueror and His Time* (Princeton, 1978); R. Murphey and H. İnalcık (ed. and tr.) *The History of Mehmet the Conqueror by Tursun Bey* (Chicago, 1978).

³⁵ B. Gray, 'Two Portraits of Mehmet II', *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, 61/352 (July 1932), 2–5; A. Sakisian 'The Portraits of Mehmet II', *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, 74/433 (Apr. 1939), 172–81; J. Raby, 'Pride and Prejudice: Mehmet the Conqueror and the Italian Portrait Medal', in J. G. Pollard (ed.), *Italian Medals* (Washington, DC, 1987), 171–94; C. Campbell and A. Chong (eds.), *Bellini and the East* (London, 2005).

sultani in Konstantiniye in his own name, Mehmet II was making a bold economic and political statement. He was now the new master of the people and resources of the old eastern Roman Empire (Striker of gold, lord of might and victor by land and sea, as the reverse inscription indicates) and those resources were sufficient for the striking of gold coins, timeless symbols of stability and tradition.

His medals were executed by Costanzo di Ferrara or di Moysis (1450–c.1525),³⁶ Gentile Bellini (c.1429–1507),³⁷ and Bertoldo di Giovanni (c.1420–91).³⁸ The intriguing thing is not the vast iconographical repertoire to which the Italian artists had access, but the fusion between east and west Mehmet II was pursuing. The medal by Bertoldo di Giovanni (Pl. 3, Fig. 6), offers a realistic portrait of an ageing and pensive Mehmet II on the obverse, while on the reverse the sultan's triumph follows iconographically ancient coins and medals.³⁹ A youthful and svelte sultan, in the manner of Augustus who never aged on his coins and of Alexander whose youthful portrait adorned several numismatic issues long after his death, appears riding a chariot at the back of which there are three naked and bound females, all wearing crenellated crowns. These are the personifications of Asia, Greece, and Trebizond. Mars the god of war leads the triumph, while Mehmet is holding high in his left hand a small figure, possibly a Victory. In the exergue of the medal, the two personifications of the sea to the left and of the earth to the right, draw inspiration once more from Roman imperial coins.

This extraordinary medal formulates in the most eloquent way the end of a long pursuit. For lesser and great rulers of central Asia and Anatolia, Alexander the Great provided throughout their centuries-long conquests and expansion a steady role model of rulership. Alexander conquered the world because of his 'irresistible character' as the mysterious sage of the Mongol *Shahnama* pointedly stated to an Indian king,⁴⁰ and Muslim rulers tried to emulate that character and conduct. Mehmet II is, as the obverse and reverse inscriptions state, 'the emperor of Asia, Trebizond, and Magna Grecia', the latter title indicating the designs Mehmet II had on the Kingdom of Naples. He is also the latest addition in an uninterrupted line of rulers, at the other end of which stands Alexander.⁴¹

³⁶ National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, Samuel H. Kress Collection (1957.14.737a).

³⁷ Ibid. (1957.14.737).

³⁸ National Gallery of Scotland, acquisition 1991 ('Recent Acquisitions in Edinburgh Museums: Supplement', *Burlington Magazine*, 133/1063 (Oct., 1991), 741–4); British Museum, Dep. of Coins and Medals, 1919-10-1-1.

³⁹ E. Georganteli and B. Cook, *Encounters* (London, 2006), 42–3.

⁴⁰ Grabar, 'Notes', 153.

⁴¹ Mehmet II's biographer Kritoboulos and other Greeks in the Sultan's court often made comparisons between Mehmet II and Alexander. See Kritoboulos, *Critobuli Imbriotae Historiae*, ed. D. R. Reinsch, CFHB 22 (Berlin, 1983), 4, 17, 157; F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (Leipzig, 1927), 11–12; Vryonis, 'Byzantine Legacy', 139.

2. LOOKING AT THE 'OTHER': CONTEMPORARY CROSS-CULTURAL BORROWING

In the crusader-controlled areas of the Levant transposed images can best be seen on some unusual twelfth- and thirteenth-century coins produced by the mints of Tripoli, Antioch, Acre, and possibly Tyre. During the twelfth century gold and silver crusader coins, produced by the very armies that had earlier been involved in bloody encounters with local Muslim populations, opted to imitate Islamic dinars and dirhams. The production of such coins tried to facilitate local transactions,⁴² but failed to impress the Holy See. Upon his arrival in the Latin East in 1250 the papal legate, Cardinal Eudes de Châteauroux came across crusader coins with the name of the Prophet and Islamic inscriptions prominently displayed on them. He ordered an end to the practice, requesting the Pope to intervene. Pope Innocent IV's subsequent decree threatened to excommunicate all those striking such gold and silver dinars and dirhams that mentioned the name of Muhammed and his birthdate.⁴³ In response to the papal threat, crusader dirhams and half-dirhams minted in Frankish Acre in 1250s, though resembling in their design silver coins struck in Damascus by the Ayyubids during the first half of the thirteenth century, now displayed formulas of Christian faith in decipherable Kufic script, and some examples of them even included a cross and a fleur-de-lis in their design (Pl., 4, Fig. 7). Exaltation of the Holy Trinity or the formula 'One God, one Faith, one Baptism' are clearly pronounced in the obverse and reverse inscriptions, and the Christian era replaces the Islamic one. Christian gold dinars, also struck in Acre in the 1250s, carry in Kufic script similar and in some cases additional Christian proclamations, such as 'We are glorified by the Cross of our Lord, Jesus the Messiah from whom we receive our salvation and life, and resurrection, through whom we are delivered and pardoned'. Were those crusader coins an acceptable currency for the Islamic markets for which they were intended? Their presence in some contemporary mixed hoards of Islamic and imitative crusader issues suggest that they enjoyed a degree of circulation in the area, although it is highly unlikely that the cross went unnoticed by Muslims.

In this permissive climate, two coins, one struck in the Crusader principality of Antioch by Tancred, regent (1100–12) in Bohemond I's absence, and the second one by Saladin, sultan of Egypt and Syria (AD 1171–93), further

⁴² On the gold famine in western Europe until the 14th cent. see A. M. Watson, 'Back to Gold and Silver', *Economic History Review*, ns 20 (1967), 1–34; P. Grierson, 'A Rare Crusader Byzant with the *Christus Vincit* Legend', *ANSMN* 6 (1954), 169–78; P. Balog and J. Yvon, 'Monnaies à légendes arabes de l'Orient latin', *RN* 1 (1958), 133–68.

⁴³ Innocent IV, *Les Registres d'Innocent IV*, ed. E. Berger (Paris 1884–1921); G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient latin* (Paris, 1878), 139–40.

elucidate how imaging 'the Other' can result in quite interesting iconographical innovations.

The obverse of a series of copper *folles* of Tancred⁴⁴ shows him in bust, wearing what I would argue is an '*imama* or turban rather than a chaperon or a cap,⁴⁵ and holding a sword upwards (Pl. 4, Fig. 9). The invocation which surrounds the ruler's image, is in Greek +*KEBOHΘEITANKPI*+ (Lord, help Tancred), and the same applies to the reverse inscription IC-XC-NI-KA at the angles of a Latin cross with pellets at each extremity and with floral ornaments to the left and right at the base. The iconography, language, and metrology of the particular coin series are revealing of the complexity of Tancred's audience, who handled those coins in the local markets of northern Syria.⁴⁶

Crusader Antioch thrived throughout the twelfth century as a hub of key routes, which linked the Kingdom of Cilician Armenia to the Crusader holdings in Palestine, and Syria to western European trade through Antioch's riverine harbour of St Symeon/Al-Mina.⁴⁷ Numismatic evidence from Antioch, St Symeon, and the neighbouring sites of Çatal Höyük, and Tell al-Judaidah, both in the Amuq valley, convincingly attests to the wide circulation eleventh-century Byzantine anonymous and signed *folles* enjoyed in the area until the arrival of the crusaders.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East in the Ashmolean Museum Oxford* (London, 1995), 27: Tancred's *folles*, second type; B. Kugler, *Boemund und Tancred, Fürsten von Antiochien* (Tübingen, 1862); R. S. Nicholson, *Tancred* (Chicago, 1940); B. S. Bachrach and D. S. Bachrach, *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen* (Aldershot, 2005).

⁴⁵ Tancred's turban/cap/hairstyle has unsurprisingly generated a long discussion. A number of scholars have supported the turban option: H. Longuet, 'La Coiffure de Tancrede, prince d'Antioche, sur les monnaies', *Congrès international de numismatique* (Paris, 1953), 234–5, 341–3; R. C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare 1097–1193* (Cambridge, 1978), 41; A. G. Malloy *et al.*, *Coins of the Crusader States 1098–1291* (New York, 1994). Porteous describes the headdress as a bonnet: J. Porteous, 'Crusader Coinage with Greek or Latin Inscriptions', *A History of the Crusades*, gen. ed. K. Setton (Madison, Wis., 1969–89), vi., 354–420, in particular 391), while Metcalf dismisses the turban as 'a figment of the imagination' (*Coinage of the Crusades*, 27); R. Pesant, 'The Effigy on the Coins of Tancred of Antioch', *Numismatic Circular* 89 (1981), XX.

⁴⁶ H. Dajani-Shakeel, 'Natives and Franks in Palestine: Perception and Interaction', in M. Gervers and R. J. Bikhazi (eds.), *Conversion and Continuity* (Rome, 1990), 161–84; C. Burnett, 'Antioch as a Link between Arabic and Latin Culture in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in I. Draelans *et al.* (eds.), *Occident et Proche-Orient: Contacts scientifiques de Louvain-la-Neuve, 24 et 25 Mars 1997* (Louvain, 2000), 1–78. J.-C. Cheynet, 'The Duchy of Antioch during the Second Period of Byzantine Rule', in K. Ciggaar and M. Metcalf (eds.), *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean* (Louvain and Paris, 2006), 1–16.

⁴⁷ C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades et la Principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris, 1940); H. E. Mayer, *Varia Antiochena* (Hanover, 1993); K.-P. Todt, 'Antioch and Edessa in the So-Called Treaty of Deabolis (September 1108)', *ARAM* 12 (2000): *Antioch and Edessa*, 485–501.

⁴⁸ On Middle Byzantine coins from Saint Symeon, Çatal Höyük, and Tell al-Judaidah see T. Vorderstrasse, *Al-Mina* (Leiden, 2005), chart 7.

Metrologically Tancred's copper folles types 1–4 follow the coins of Bohemond I (1098–1104), which at 4–5 grams observe roughly the same weight as some lightweight eleventh-century Byzantine anonymous and signed folles. Both Bohemond and Tancred's folles reflect a conscious effort by the new masters of Antioch to replace the Byzantine currency in northern Syria with fresh coinage struck in their own name, which could retain the weight standard and some of the iconography of the previous successful petty currency. Tradition and innovation are most apparent in the iconography and inscriptions Tancred applied on his folles. The obverse of his folles of the fourth type (Pl. 4, Fig. 8a)⁴⁹ is a simplified version of the obverse of Byzantine anonymous folles class A1–2, B, E, G, H, I, J, K, L, and N, and of signed folles of Constantine X class 2, Romanos IV, Michael VII, and Nikephoros Bryennios.⁵⁰ On the reverse, the Latin cross with the name of Tancred in Greek (ΤΑ ΝΚΡΗ = Tancred) in its four angles harks back to the reverse of Romanos IV's folles (Pl. 4, Fig. 8b), the main difference being the invocation on Romanos's coin (C[=ΚΥΠΙΕ] R[=ΒΟΗΘΕΙ] P[ΩΜΑΝΩ] Δ[ΟΥΛΩ]), which is absent from Tancred's simple indication of his name. A similar Latin cross and the inscription IC-XC-NI-KA on the reverse of Tancred's 'turbaned' coin is based on the reverse of Byzantine anonymous folles class C and I and on Alexios I's pre-reform Thessalonican folles, type B.⁵¹ As to the invocation +ΚΕΒΟΗΘΕΙΤΑΝΚΡΗ+ and its variations (+ΚΕΒΟΙ/ΘΗΤΟΔΥΛΟΚΟΥΤ/ΑΝΚΡΗ+) on Tancred's 'turbaned' coin and on his follis of first type,⁵² they clearly look back to invocations found on ninth- to eleventh-century lead seals of Byzantine officials,⁵³ on Romanos IV's two-thirds miliaresia, class II, and Alexios I's pre-reform Thessalonican debased coinage,⁵⁴ and to an abbreviated form of invocations on the reverse of folles of Romanos IV, Nikephoros III, and Nikephoros Bryennios.⁵⁵

And what about the obverse of Tancred's 'turbaned' coin? Robin Porteous's reservation about Tancred wearing a turban and Michael Metcalf's dismissal of the interpretation of Tancred's headdress as turban are based on an article

⁴⁹ Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, nos. 81–5.

⁵⁰ DOC III/ii: pls. XLVIII–LIV, classes A1–2; pl. LV, class B; pl. LXI, class E; pl. LXI, class G; pl. LXVIII; class H, pl. LXVIII; Classes H–L, pl. LXIV, 9 (Constantine X, class 2); pl. LXV, 8 (Romanos IV); pl. LXVII, 14 (Michael VII); pl. LXX, 1 (Nikephoros Bryennios).

⁵¹ DOC IV/ii, pl. II, 19 (Alexios I).

⁵² Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, nos. 49–62.

⁵³ From the many examples available I would like to point out a few which come from areas close to northern Syria, namely Side in Pamphylia (11th-cent. seal of John, metropolitan and protosynkellos: (J. Nesbitt and N. Oikonomides, *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, ii, *South of the Balkans, the Islands, South of Asia Minor* (Washington, DC, 1994), no. 78.5); Myra in Lykia 11th-cent. seal of Constantine metropolitan and synkellos: *ibid.* no. 72.1) and Cyprus (11th-cent. seal of Michael, *vestes*, judge and *katepano* of Cyprus: *ibid.* no. 38.9; D. M. Metcalf, *Byzantine Lead Seals from Cyprus* (Nicosia, 2004), no. 209).

⁵⁴ DOC. IV/ii, pl. I, 4–5 (Alexios I).

⁵⁵ DOC. III/ii, pl. LXX, 2 (Nikephoros Bryennios).

on the early history of the Trapezuntine mint by S. Bendall, but are not supported by any discussion. Bendall's examination of thirteen issues of copper coins attributes two to Theodore Gabras during his semi-independent rule of Trebizond in the period 1092–8.⁵⁶ Of particular interest is the Trapezuntine issue 10, which shows on the obverse a crude bust of St Theodore, nimbate, holding a sword and a shield, and on the reverse a small Latin cross with a pellet at the end of each arm. There are a few points regarding issue 10 and its dating *vis-à-vis* Tancred's 'turbaned' coin. Bendall's attribution of issue 10 to the period 1092–8 is a tentative one, based on the mere fact that the examples of issue 10 are found overstruck on Alexios I's issues 8 and 9 of the mint of Trebizond, which he dates to 1092, and on his assumption that the image of St Theodore represents in fact Theodore Gabras. Despite the question-marks Bendall puts in his argument he concludes that issue 10 was the prototype for the 'turbaned' issue of Tancred struck at Antioch, struck after 1104. This presupposes the dating of the Trapezuntine issue 10 to 1092–8, and sufficient enough circulation of Trapezuntine coins in Anatolia and Syria to influence Tancred's iconographical choices.

Published single coin finds and hoards from Syria, Anatolia, and Caucasus do not seem to support the hypothesis about a wide circulation of early Trapezuntine coins.⁵⁷ In fact, no Trapezuntine coins prior to those of Manuel I Grand Komnenos (1238–63) appear in numismatic samples south of Trebizond, even when Byzantine coins seem to have trickled in these areas after the reign of Alexios I. Balancing the evidence about circulation of Trapezuntine

⁵⁶ S. Bendall, 'The Mint of Trebizond under Alexios I and the Gabrades', *NC* 137 (1977), 126–36, in particular 132–3 (issues 10, 11, attributed to Theodore Gabras) and 135 where Bendall argues that 'issues 10 and 11 depicting St Theodore perhaps belong to the period 1092–8 when Theodore Gabras, already ruling Trebizond as though it was his by right, returned from Constantinople even more disenchanted with the central government after his failure to recover his son. It may be that his independence just extended to placing his own effigy on the coinage in the guise of his name saint.' On the Gabras family see A. Bryer, 'A Byzantine Family: The Gabrades, c.979–c.1653', *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, 12 (1970), 164–87; A. Bryer *et al.*, 'A Byzantine Family: The Gabrades. An Additional Note', *Byzantinoslavica*, 36 (1975), 38–45.

⁵⁷ Syria: D. B. Waagé, *Antioch on-the-Orontes*, 4.2. *Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Crusaders' Coins* (Princeton, 1952); Anatolia: C. Lightfoot, 'Byzantine Anatolia: Reassessing the Numismatic Evidence', *RN* 158 (2002), 229–40; Amastris and Amaseia in northern Anatolia: O. Tekin, *Byzantine Coins* (Istanbul, 1999) and S. Ireland, *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Coins in the Museum of Amasya, Turkey* (London, 2000); Pergamon and Polybotum (Bolvadin) in western Anatolia: H. Voegtli, *Die Fundmünzen aus Stadtgrabung von Pergamon* (Berlin and New York, 1993); R. Ashton *et al.*, 'Ancient, Byzantine and Islamic Coins in the Bolvadin Municipal Museum', *Anatolia Antiqua* 8 (2000), 171–92; Mardin in eastern Anatolia: N. M. Lowick *et al.*, *The Mardin Hoard: Islamic Countermarks on Byzantine Folles* (London, 1977); Armenia: K. Moushegian *et al.*, *History and Coin Finds in Armenia: Coins from Ani, Capital of Armenia [4th c. BC–19th c. AD]* (Wetteren, 2000); *idem*, *History and Coin Finds in Armenia: Coins from Garni (4th c. BC–19th c. AD)* (Wetteren, 2000); *idem*, *History and Coin Finds in Armenia: Inventory of Coins and Hoards [7th–19th c.]* (Wetteren, 2002), Georgia: I. Tsukhishvili and G. Depeyrot, *History and Coin Finds in Georgia: Late Roman and Byzantine Hoards [4th–13th c.]* (Wetteren, 2003).

coins and the attribution of the particular coin type to Theodore Gabras by S. Bendall, I would argue that the issue remains open, and nothing precludes the translation of the halo of St Theodore on a Trapezuntine coin into a turban on Tancred's head on the particular Crusader coin.

As to how the turban, a 'divider between unbelief and belief' according to Islamic religious and scholarly circles, could have been worn by westerners of such as Tancred, it is worth remembering that the particular headdress was part of a vestimentary tradition with which westerners became increasingly familiar during their journeys in the east in the late Middle Ages.⁵⁸ The image of the Oriental, as this is recorded in thirteenth- to fifteenth-century western manuscripts and in paintings, such as that of Mehmet II the Conqueror by Bellini, seems to have relied on the artists' observation of actual people living in the Balkans, Anatolia, and Syria, rather than on archaic images of people from the pre-Islamic east.⁵⁹ Sumptuous oriental clothing including turbans found their way into Byzantium, Georgia, Armenia,⁶⁰ and western medieval Europe, and influenced fashion and its vocabulary. Tancred himself ruled an area rich in Islamic art and architecture.⁶¹ Turban-wearing Muslim rulers, seated cross-legged, appear in earlier and contemporary Islamic manuscript

⁵⁸ Descriptions of the Prophet Muhammed wearing a black turban upon his entry to Mecca and when addressing the people are recorded in various hadiths, thus making the turban a desirable Islamic male garment. On the development of the particular garment in Islamic culture see Y. Kalfon Stilman, 'The Medieval Islamic Vestimentary System: Evolution and Consolidation', *Kommunikation zwischen Orient und Okzident Alltag und Sachkultur* (Vienna, 1994), 271–305; eadem (and ed. N. A. Stilman), *Arab Dress* (Leiden, 2000).

⁵⁹ On the development of the image of the Oriental in western and Byzantine art see R. Bartal, 'The Image of the Oriental: Western and Byzantine Perceptions', *Assaph*, 3 (1998), 131–48; eadem, 'The Image of the Saracen in Romanesque Sculpture: Literary and Visual Perceptions', *Assaph*, 8 (2003), 85–103.

⁶⁰ Elaborate turbans worn by Byzantine donors on the frescoes of Göreme and Çavuşin in Cappadocia, and by Georgian and Armenian royalty on frescoes, sculpture, and reliefs, reflect the adoption of this distinctively Islamic headdress by Christians in Anatolia and the Caucasus as early as the 10th cent. See C. Jolivet-Lévy, *Les Églises byzantines de Cappadoce* (Paris, 1991), 15–21, 301–31; A. Eastmond, *Royal Imagery in Medieval Georgia* (University Park, Pa., 1998), 91–2, 110; L. Jones, *Between Islam and Byzantium* (Aldershot, 2007), 45. In the so-called *Narratio of Saint Sophia*, a popular text of the 8th or 9th cent., the author did not feel that it was out of place to dress Emperor Justinian and St Sophia's architect, mistakenly called Ignatios, in turbans: T. Preger (ed.), *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitarum* (Leipzig, 1901–7), i. 85 (Justinian's *soudarion amydrion*); ii. 285 (Ignatios's *phakiolion*); C. Mango, 'Discontinuity with the Classical Past in Byzantium', in M. Mullett and R. Scott (eds.), *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition* (Birmingham, 1981), 48–57, esp. at 51–2. In 14th and 15th-cent. Byzantium the use of turbans became widespread in the imperial court and was predominately associated with the various *logothetes*: Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. and French tr. J. Verpeaux (Paris, 1966), ch. 2.

⁶¹ E. S. Bouchier, *A Short History of Antioch: 300 BC–AD 1268* (Oxford, 1921); Cahen, *La Syrie du nord*; T. Asbridge, 'The "Crusader" Community at Antioch: The Impact of Interaction with Byzantium and Islam', *TRHS*, 6th ser., 9 (1999), 305–25; idem, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch 1098–1130* (Rochester, NY, 2000); K. N. Ciggaar, 'Adaptation to Oriental Life by Rulers in and around Antioch: Examples and Examples', in Ciggaar and Metcalf, *East and West*, 261–82; S. B. Edgington, 'Antioch: Medieval City of Culture', *ibid.* 247–60; T. Vordestrasse, 'Archaeology of the Antiochene Region in the Crusader Period', *ibid.* 319–36.

illuminations, fine pottery, and metalwork, tiles, and tapestry. The art echoed Islamic etiquette and refined rituals in the courts of Muslim rulers, and Tancred's coins reflect his effort to be seen as one of them, and should be viewed in the wider context of adaptation of Arab and Byzantine fiscal and administrative structures in the seigneurial system of Crusader Syria.⁶² According to a hadith wearing a turban increases good character, *hilm* (which can also mean intelligence and patience),⁶³ all these being important characteristics of the ideal ruler. It is particularly interesting to note that Tancred's numismatic depiction for the Muslim population of his realm predates coin images of Islamic rulers wearing the turban. Contemporary Seljuk and Turkmen coins seem instead to have drawn inspiration from both Persian images of rulers as bareheaded hunters and riders, and from Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine portraits of rulers wearing diadems and crowns. During the period of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries we know of only two Islamic numismatic issues on which male figures are shown in turbans.

The first one, dating to AD 1216, is a copper fals struck by Mugis ad-Din Toghril, Malik of Erzurum of the Seljuks of Rum. The obverse of the coin depicts a rider, wearing the turban and holding a mace. The second example is a copper dirham attributed to Al-Nasir Salah ad-Din Yusuf I (Saladin) (AH 567–89, AD 1171–93), and struck in AH 586 (AD 1191) (Pl. 4, Fig. 10).⁶⁴

The turbaned Ayyubid ruler seated cross-legged on a Byzantine-style square throne and holding a globe is in its turn another telling example of a transposed image in the twelfth-century eastern Mediterranean. Saladin's adoption of two distinct symbols of Byzantine imperial power reflects his long connection with the Angelos dynasty, and his familiarization with both the ceremonial and meaning of imperial splendour. Harbours the refugee brothers Isaac and Alexios Angelos in his court undoubtedly offered him a sneak insight into the Constantinopolitan court and way of life, albeit in exile. His alliance with Byzantium in the 1180s must have furthered his knowledge of what was important to a Byzantine sovereign. He was addressed as a brother-to-the-emperor in Isaac's chrysobull issued in the summer of 1189.⁶⁵ A year earlier Saladin was presented with a crown by the emperor's envoys⁶⁶ in the same way Isaac's predecessors distributed titles and crowns to rulers of young

⁶² J. Richard, 'La Seigneurie franque en Syrie et à Chypre: Modèle oriental ou modèle occidental?', 117^e *Congrès national des sociétés savantes*, Clermont-Ferrand, Histoire médiévale (Paris, 1994), 155–66; repr. in *Francs et Orientaux dans le monde des croisades* (Aldershot, 2003), no. XIII.

⁶³ W. Björkman, 'Tulband', *EI*, x, 607.

⁶⁴ P. Balog, *The Coinage of the Ayyūbids* (London, 1980), nos. 182–3.

⁶⁵ Bah'al-Din Ibn Shaddad, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin*, tr. D. S. Richards (Aldershot, 2002), 121–2.

⁶⁶ *Chronica collecta a Magno presbytero*, ed. W. Wattenbach, MGH SS 17 (Hanover, 1861), 512; C. M. Brand, 'The Byzantines and Saladin, 1185–1192: Opponents to the Third Crusade', *Speculum*, 37 (1962), 167–81.

kingdoms in east-central Europe. When it became obvious that the alleged power of Isaac amounted to nothing more than the words of a powerless ruler, Saladin distanced himself from the alliance, remaining a key player in the fast changing political landscape of the eastern Mediterranean. He was now being transformed from astute student of imperial power into the universal ruler who carries forward the Byzantine tradition in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt.⁶⁷ In that context Saladin felt very confident in adopting imperial symbols in 1191, such as the throne and the globe, while the turbaned Tancred sought a more 'oriental' image for himself than his contemporary Muslim rulers.

In the young kingdom of Cilician Armenia imagery looks both to the east and west for inspiration, and mirrors the unique relation the country retained with Byzantium, the Seljuk and Mamluk world, and the west.⁶⁸ The role of the area as a meeting place for people, commodities, and ideas was further accentuated after the gradual disappearance of the Crusader principalities in the east, and the promotion of the ports of Ayas and Portella as the main gateways to western European trade. Cilicia's relation with Byzantium remained quite ambivalent, especially after Levon I's coronation with western help in 1198 or 1199. In Byzantine eyes Cilicia was simply part of the Byzantine Empire, and it was only out of political expediency and with reluctance that Emperor Alexios III Angelos sent gifts and a crown to Levon I in 1198, accompanying them with the advice 'Do not put on your head the crown of the Romans, but the one we sent you, because you are nearer to us than to Rome'.⁶⁹ Cilician royals, on the other hand, tried to balance the young kingdom's existence between east and west by adopting law codes and royal practices both from Greek and Latin worlds. The best example is possibly Levon I who attempted to introduce into his kingdom's judicial system the complete collection of the *Assizes of Jerusalem*,⁷⁰ possibly in order to secure his daughter's succession to the throne.

⁶⁷ In 1192 the shift of power in the relation between Isaac and Saladin was complete. The emperor's requests for the Holy Cross, use of the Holy Sepulchre and all the churches in Jerusalem by Orthodox clergy, and his urging of Saladin to attack Cyprus were flatly declined by the Egyptian sultan. Insinuation in Saladin's answer that everything was for sale to the highest bidder, including the Holy Cross (Bah'al-Din Ibn Shaddad, *Rare and Excellent History of Saladin*, 201–2), further illustrates his political agenda to be seen as the emperor of the Middle East, as this was also projected on his 1191 copper dirhams. The erstwhile protector of Orthodox Christians, who now commanded vast areas and diverse populations, could not be told what to do by impoverished and desperate former associates.

⁶⁸ S. Der Nersessian, 'The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia', *A History of the Crusades*, gen. ed. K. Setton (Madison, Wis., 1969–89), ii. 630–59; T. S. R. Boase (ed.), *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia* (Edinburgh, 1978); A. Savvides, *Byzantium in the Near East* (Thessalonica, 1981); C. Moutafian, *Le Royaume arménien de Cilicie* (Paris, 2001); A. D. Stewart, *The Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluks* (Leiden, 2001); G. Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés* (Lisbon, 2003).

⁶⁹ *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Documents arméniens* (Paris, 1869–1906), ii. 424.

⁷⁰ On the laws regarding succession and regency see *The Assizes of the Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus*, tr. N. Coureas (Nicosia, 2002).

After the proclamation of Levon's 3-year-old daughter Zabel as queen at her father's deathbed in 1219, Zabel's silver coins, issued in 1226 and following her marriage to Hetoum I (1226–70) reflect Armenia's continuing connection with Byzantine artistic tradition. By marrying Queen Zabel, Hetoum I became prince consort and crowned king, and in this capacity he appears with Zabel on their silver trams and half-trams holding between them a patriarchal cross⁷¹ in the Byzantine fashion of co-emperors (Pl. 4, Figs. 12a and b). Her position to the left acknowledges her seniority in terms of royal rank and is in line with the Byzantine imperial protocol, followed by Byzantine die engravers when depicting emperors and their associates on coins, the closest chronologically to Zabel and Hetoum I's coins being Alexios I's first Constantinopolitan billon trachea, which show him standing together with his wife Eirene, holding between them a patriarchal cross. Interestingly, Zabel's seniority is only acknowledged in the iconography of the obverse, as the name and title that surround the reverse's image of a lion refer solely to Hetoum I ('Hetoum, King of the Armenians'). Another fascinating example of Byzantine iconographical borrowings are Levon I's coronation trams.⁷² On those rather experimental coins, which were issued within a short period, the king appears in the company of the Virgin Mary, as in the case of numerous tenth- to twelfth-century Byzantine examples (Pl. 4, Figs 11a and b). As to what Bedoukian describes as a ray of light, a dove emerging from the clouds, or a *Manus Dei* above the two figures, they are there, I think, in order to provide further endorsement of Levon's royal power. These particular iconographical elements also represent an Armenian take on the standard *Manus Dei* crowning the emperor, a motif encountered on tenth- to twelfth-century Byzantine coins that depict the emperor either alone, or in the company of the Virgin Mary.⁷³ Both Levon I's coronation trams and Zabel and Hetoum's trams and half-trams are extremely valuable for tracing Byzantine artistic links with Cilician Armenia other than those on the level of miniature illuminations.⁷⁴

⁷¹ P. Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia* (New York, 1962), nos. 842–93; P. Z. Bedoukian, *Medieval Armenian Coins* (Paris, 1971), nos. 40–51.

⁷² W. Wroth, *Imperial Byzantine Coins* (London, 1908), 584; Bedoukian, *Cilician Armenia*, nos. 76a–81; Bedoukian, *Medieval Armenian Coins*, nos. 14–15.

⁷³ From a number of 10th–12th cent. coins showing the emperor alone, one could mention Alexios I's splendid post-reform hyperpyra (DOC IV, pls. III–IV, 20), Manuel I's hyperpyra (DOC IV, pl. XI), and Constantinopolitan electrum trachea type D (DOC IV, pl. XII, 5) and the billon trachea type B of the usurper Isaac Comnenos, minted in Cyprus (DOC IV, pl. XVIII, 3). As for the emperor in the company of the Virgin Mary and crowned by the Hand of God, see John II's first gold hyperpyra struck in Constantinople and Thessalonica (DOC IV, pls. VII, 1 and VIII, 4).

⁷⁴ Art historians have so far focused their attention on the Constantinopolitan influence of miniature illuminations in 12th–15th-cent. Armenian art, on the basis of the feasibility of transport of this medium of art. See for instance S. S. Manoukian, 'L'Art du livre en Cilicie et les traditions byzantines', *L'Arménie et Byzance: Histoire et culture* (Paris, 1996), 127–34; M. Thierry, 'Les Influences byzantines sur l'art arménien (étude critique)', *ibid.* 191–201, esp.

The coins reflect once again the familiarization of populations and artists in the late medieval eastern Mediterranean with eleventh-century Byzantine coins, long after those coins were issued, and the enduring power of Byzantine money as both legal tender and miniature art.

As to western-influenced Cilician Armenian coins, they convey in their iconography the relations Armenian kings forged with the west through political alliances, intermarriages, and progressively in the thirteenth century through trade with Venice and Genoa.⁷⁵ The image of Levon I, seated on a throne adorned with lion heads, on some of his gold and silver coins⁷⁶ had been clearly modelled on western motifs (pl. 5, Figs. 13a and b), namely contemporary Papal and German coins, which in their turn must have been based on Byzantine prototypes. Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa (1152–90) struck silver pennies and bracteates which showed him enthroned and holding a fleur-de-lis and a globe cruciger, while his successor Emperor Henry VI (1190–7) continued the same iconography on some of his silver bracteates struck in Germany.⁷⁷ Levon was promoted from prince to the first King of Armenia by Henry VI, and this particular political arrangement evidently influenced his and his successors' choice of design. Levon I, Hetoum I, Oshin (1307–20), and Levon IV (1320–42) all sit on either a lion-decorated or a simpler throne, and all of them hold a fleur-de-lis in western fashion. The progressive abandonment of the globus cruciger, held by Levon I and Hetoum, in favour of a cross or a staff in the case of Oshin and Levon IV may reflect the increasing dependence of Cilician Armenia on the Mamluks. Levon I's very rare billon coins displaying the crowned king's head on the obverse and a cross on the reverse, and with inscriptions either in Armenian or Latin script, also resemble western coins, namely Crusader deniers.⁷⁸ These rare billon coins

at 200; H. C. Evans, 'Kings and Power Bases: Sources for Royal Portraits in Armenian Cilicia', in R. W. Thomson and J.-P. Mahé (eds.), *From Byzantium to Iran: Armenian Studies in Honor of Nina G. Garsoïan* (Atlanta, Ga., 1997), 485–507; eadem, 'Imperial Aspirations: Armenian Cilicia and Byzantium in the Thirteenth Century', in A. Eastmond (ed.), *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium* (Aldershot, 2001), 243–56.

⁷⁵ W. H. Rüdt-Collenberg, *The Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans* (Paris, 1963); J. Ghazarian, *The Armenian Kingdom in Cilicia during the Crusades* (Richmond, Surrey, 2000). On the role of Ayas as a major meeting place for merchants after the mid-13th cent. see C. Moutafian, *La Cilicie au carrefour des empires* (Paris, 1988), i. 446. Hisn al-Tinat was another very important commercial centre for Cilician Armenia in the timber trade with Antioch. See S. Redford *et al.*, 'Excavations at Medieval Kinet, Turkey: A Preliminary Report', *ANES* 38 (2001), 58–138. On the economic links between Cyprus and Cilician Armenia see C. Otten-Froux, 'Les Relations économiques entre Chypre et le royaume arménien de Cilicie d'après les actes notariés (1270–1320)', *L'Arménie et Byzance* 157–79.

⁷⁶ Bedoukian, *Cilician Armenia*, nos. 5, 13–68; idem, 'Three Notes on Armenian Coins', *ANSMN* 16 (1970), 87–90; Bedoukian, *Medieval Armenian Coins*, nos. 9–13.

⁷⁷ E. Mertans, *Der Bracteafund von Nordhausen* (Halle, 1929).

⁷⁸ P. Z. Bedoukian, 'A Unique Billon of Levon I of Cilician Armenia and its Historical Significance', *NC* 7 (1967), 189–97.

further reflect the ambition of the first Armenian king to play an active role in the political and economic realities of thirteenth-century eastern Mediterranean after capturing Antioch in 1216.

The complex relationship between Cilician Armenia, the Seljuqs, and Mamluks is best reflected in the bilingual silver trams struck by Hetoum I with references to Hetoum I and Sultan Kaikobad, and later to Sultan Kaikhusraw (Pl. 5, Fig. 14), and in the images of Hetoum II (1289–93) and Levon III (1301–7) seated in oriental fashion on some of their copper coins (Pl. 5, Fig. 15).⁷⁹ These coins in conjunction with the dramatic debasement of Armenian silver from the reign of Levon II onwards and the regular strikeover of Armenian coins in Arabic during the reign of Levon IV⁸⁰ trace the increasing political and economic pressure applied to Cilician Armenia first by the Seljuks of Konya and eventually by the Mamluks of Egypt.

The last examples in our exploration of transposed images come from the Empire of Trebizond and the Kingdom of Georgia. Founded by two members of the imperial Komnenos family the Empire of Trebizond survived Turkish and Mongol attacks, civil wars, and domestic intrigues until 1461, when it was annexed to the Ottoman Empire. Originally one of the successor states following the fall of the Constantinople to the Latins in 1204, this pocket empire remained separate and independent from Constantinople after 1261, coexisting with its Turkish and Georgian neighbours, thriving as a major centre of transit trade with Tabriz and outliving the Byzantine Empire.⁸¹

The coins struck by the Grand Komnenoi convey in their iconography the continuation of Byzantine imperial ideology on the shores of the Black Sea. The imperial office is indicated by the Hand of God (*Manus Dei*), which crowns the rulers and the globe cruciger held by Manuel I (1238–63), George (1266–80), John II (1280–97), Theodora (1284/5), Basil (1332–40), John III (1340–4), Michael (1344–9), and Alexios III (1349–90) on some of their silver and copper coins, and in the case of Alexios III on his gold seal attached to his chrysobull of 1374 to the Dionysiou Monastery on Mount Athos. There are two interesting points one can make when studying the particular

⁷⁹ Georganteli and Cook, *Encounters*, 51; Hetoum I (Bedoukian, *Cilician Armenia*, 776–84; Bedoukian, *Medieval Armenian Coins*, nos. 35–9); Hetoum II's kardez (Bedoukian, *Cilician Armenia*, 1620–53; Bedoukian, *Medieval Armenian Coins*, nos. 78–9); Levon III's pogh (Bedoukian, *Cilician Armenia*, 1813–39; Bedoukian, *Medieval Armenian Coins*, nos. 93–4).

⁸⁰ P. Z. Bedoukian, 'Some Armenian Coins Overstruck in Arabic', *Armeniaca* (Venice, 1969), 138–47.

⁸¹ A. A. Vasiliev, 'The Foundation of the Empire of Trebizond', *Speculum*, 11 (1936), 3–37; A. Bryer, *The Empire of Trebizond and the Pontos* (London, 1980); S. Karpov, *L'Impero di Trebisonda, Venezia, Genova e Roma, 1204–1461* (Rome, 1986); idem, *Istoriia Trapezundskoi Imperii* (St Petersburg, 2007); A. Savvides, *Οι Μεγάλοι Κομνηνοί της Τραπεζούντας και του Πόντου. Ιστορική επισκόπηση της Βυζαντινής αυτοκρατορίας του μικρασιατικού ελληνισμού (1204–1461)* (Athens, 2005); R. Shukurov, *Velikie Komniny i Vostok (1204–1461)* (St Petersburg, 2001).

iconography of the Grand Komnenoi. The globus cruciger, customary symbol of universal rulership and virtually absent from the Byzantine numismatic iconography after 1261, is held by all Trapezuntine rulers in their left hand—apart from Theodora who carries it with the right hand—in the manner pre-1204 Byzantine emperors and the thirteenth-century emperors of Nicaea display it on their coins. Unlike their Constantinopolitan predecessors and contemporaries, Trapezuntine emperors did not claim any title on their coins apart from their family connection to the Komnenos dynasty (*KOMNENOC*), a connection that in the case of the coinage of the joint rule of John II and Alexios II (1297) and of that of Alexios III is further highlighted by the addition of *MEΓAC* (*KOMNENOC*).⁸² The Trapezuntine emperors' ambivalent relation with Constantinople, which until the mid-fourteenth century opted not to recognize their official imperial title and after that to ignore it, as well as Trebizond's payment of tribute to the Seljuks of Rum and later to the Mongols of Persia, must have influenced titulature or rather its absence from their coins.⁸³ It is an irony perhaps that the Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond, stripped of their imperial title on their coins, insisted on being shown on those very coins, in portraits in the church of Hagia Sophia, and in their palace, and on being perceived by western and eastern visitors to their court, in the same way as their illustrious Komnenoi ancestors.⁸⁴

Further east, silver coins struck by King Georgi V (1314–46) on western Georgian soil, and which were based on silver aspra of Emperor John II (1280–97) and Empress Theodora of Trebizond (1284/5) (Pl. 5, Figs. 16–17),

⁸² On the connection to the Komnenoi dynasty see D. Polemis, 'A Note on the Origin of the Title "Μέγας Κομνηνός"', *Neo-Hellenika*, 1 (1970), 18–23; O. Lampsides, 'Ο ανταγωνισμός μεταξύ των κρατών της Νικαίας και των Μεγάλων Κομνηνών διά την κληρονομίαν της Βυζαντινής ιδέας', *AP* 34 (1977–8), 3–19; R. Macrides, 'What's in the Name of "Μέγας Κομνηνός"?', *AP* 35 (1978), 238–41, and the study by N. Oikonomides, 'The Chancery of the Grand Komnenoi: Imperial Tradition and Political Reality', *AP* 35 (1978), 299–332, where a large body of sources is discussed critically.

⁸³ A. Bryer, 'Greeks and Turkmens: The Pontic Exception', *DOP* 29 (1975), 113–48; E. A. Zachariadou, 'Trebizond and the Turks (1352–1402)', *AP* 35 (1978), 333–58; M. Kuršanskis, 'L'Empire de Trebizonde et les Turcs au 13^e siècle', *REB* 46 (1988), 109–24; A. Savvides, 'Ο Βυζαντινός Πόντος, οι Σελτζούκοι και οι Ντανισμεντίδες Τούρκοι', *AP* 47 (1996–7), 91–106.

⁸⁴ A now lost fresco in the church of Hagia Sophia of Trebizond depicted the donor Manuel I Grand Komnenos, holding sceptre and the horn of annointment used at the coronation of King David. The accompanying inscription identified him as 'in Christ God, faithful emperor and autocrat of the Romans'; see J. M. Hussey (ed.), *The Journals and Letters of George Finlay* (Camberley, Surrey, 1995), 301; G. Gagarin, *Sobranie vizantiiskikh, gruzinskikh i dreverusskikh ornamentov i pamiatnikov arkhitektury* (St Petersburg, 1897), 25; A. Eastmond, *Art and Identity in Thirteenth-Century Byzantium* (Aldershot, 2004), 139–51. Portraits of Alexios IV and John VI were also displayed at Hagia Sophia (A. Bryer and D. Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontos* (Washington, DC, 1985), 234–5), and a gallery of portraits of Trapezuntine emperors and their Komnenian predecessors adorned the main hall of the palace in the acropolis, where foreign envoys were received (see Bessarion, 'Εγκώμιον εις Τραπεζούντα', *Neos Hellinonimion*, 13 (1916), 189).

display the same concept of universal rulership as their Trapezuntine prototypes despite Georgia's subordination to the Mongols of Persia. The Georgian imitations are known in old Georgian charters as Kirmanueli, an adjective that confusingly associates these coins to Manuel I Grand Komnenos's aspra.⁸⁵ To add to the mix-up contemporary Georgian documents also make references to silver Georgauli, which at the same weight as the Kirmanueli seem to have been one and the same currency. What prompted Georgi V to look at Trebizond for inspiration for his silver coins, and why were the coins referred to as Georgauli?

The key to answer these questions lies in the fourteenth-century political situation of the Transcaucasian region and in the issue once again of cultural translation of images. Georgi V, the ruler who developed diplomatic relations with the Mongols of Persia and the Mamluks of Egypt, crushed all separatist movements and reunited western Georgia during the second part of his reign (1327–46), nonetheless had little control of the type of silver currency which was struck at Tiflis and Kakhet'i. The dominant coins struck in these two Georgian mints were Ilkhanid dirhams in the name of Georgia's Ilkhanid overlords. There is an obvious dichotomy between the military and diplomatic success and political aspirations of Georgi, and the economic conditions imposed by his Mongol overlords. In the earlier part of Georgi's rule Mamluk diplomatic correspondence recorded by al-Umari and later incorporated in Qalqashandi's work addresses the Georgian king among others as 'the successor of the Greek kings, bulwark of the lands of Rum and Iran, offspring of the Hellenes, the anointed leader of the Christian heroes'. These hyperboles used in al-Umari's treatise paint the profile of Georgi as that of legitimate successor to the Byzantine emperor with all the subtext that this entails. Even when later diplomatic correspondence between the Mamluks and Georgia reduced the above terms to the mere 'occupier of Tiflis', the Georgian king no doubt continued to see himself as the anointed Christian ruler of vast territories. Iconographical inspiration for his coins in the absence of continuity of distinct Georgian currency since the mid-thirteenth century could only come from neighbouring Trebizond. Coins of Manuel I Grand Komnenos enjoyed wide circulation in Georgia as coin finds demonstrate, and remained synonymous with good-quality money long after they were struck. By emulating the coins of John II and Theodora, emperors of Trebizond, the Kirmanueli aimed at supplementing the fourteenth-century Georgian market, until then dominated by Mongol issues, with coins which could appeal to the local audience. Corrupt inscriptions and the king's crude image on the reverse show him as John II or

⁸⁵ D. M. Lang, 'Georgia in the Reign of Giorgi the Brilliant (1314–1346)', *BSOAS* 17 (1955), 74–91; M. Kuršanskis, 'L'Empire de Trebizond et la Georgie', *REB* 33 (1977), 237–56; I. V. Sokolova, 'Kirmaneuli s imenem Manuela iz sobrani i a gosudarstvennogo Ermitazh', in D. G. Kapanadze (ed.), *Numizmaticheskii Sbornik* (Tbilisi, 1977), 109–16.

wearing a female crown as Theodora, a confusion no doubt on the part of the die cutters regarding late Byzantine regalia. However, what die cutters meticulously added on the reverse is David's star, visual reference to the claim by Georgian royalty that they were descendants of Prophet-King David,⁸⁶ and therefore properly anointed rulers. On the obverse of Kirmaneuli the image of St Eugenios, patron saint of Trebizond, conveniently blurs into that of St George, Georgia's patron saint, thus transforming what was effectively a Trapezuntine imitation into Georgauli, a fourteenth-century Georgian currency.

To sum up, in a climate of cultural and linguistic symbiosis rulers from across the eastern Mediterranean and Anatolia used coinage as a mirror in which their relation with the past and their political aspirations for the future were reflected. Ideas of legitimacy, continuity, and permanence are dressed in Byzantine, western, and eastern fashion, and the proliferation of one or another motif reflects the different connections those emperors, princes, kings, maliks, and sultans were seeking, and the different audiences they were trying to impress. Images look strikingly similar and often transposed; crusaders, Georgians, and Armenians borrowing Byzantine and Islamic motifs, Trapezuntine emperors claiming more authority than Constantinople was prepared to accept, and Turkish and Mamluk rulers and later Sultan Mehmet II carefully balancing their religious background with paradigms of rulership from the Byzantine, Roman, and Hellenistic heritage of the areas over which they ruled.

CATALOGUE

1a. The Ascension of Alexander the Great: Silver plate, most likely created in Latin Constantinople in c.1208–16

The central scene in repoussé depicts Alexander seated on a backless throne/chariot drawn by two griffins. Greek inscriptions in two embossed roundels left (*ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ*) and right (*ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ*) of Alexander's head state his name and title (of King Alexander). The medallions surrounding Alexander's ascension have images of the personifications of the Earth, Ocean, Sun, Moon and Jupiter (?), and a battle scene.

Diam. 288mm

⁸⁶ On the use of Prophet-King David by the Bagradid dynasty see S. H. Rapp, Jr., 'Sumbat Davitisdze and the Vocabulary of Political Authority in the Era of Georgian Unification', *JOAS* 120 (2000), 570–6.

The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, Inv. no. W-1501. Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Svetlana Suetova, Konstantin Sinyavsky.

1b. The Ascension of Alexander the Great: Copper gilt with cloisonné and champlevé Artuqid plate, first half of the 12th century

The interior decoration consists of a central roundel depicting the ascension of Alexander and six smaller peripheral roundels showing peacocks and scenes of animal combat. Between roundels there are images of palm trees flanked by lions, and of court entertainers. The inscription in Arabic below the rim of the bowl refers to the Artuqid ruler Ruk al-Dawla Da'ud bin Sukman (AH 502–39, AD 1109–44), owner or recipient of the bowl. The Artuqid ruler controlled the cities of Hisn Kayfa and Khartpert from 1114 to 1142. The exterior inscription, in Persian, is illegible.

H. 50 mm; diam. 265mm

Image courtesy of Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck, Austria

1c. The Ascension of Alexander the Great: 14th-century marble flat relief, used in the paving of the Virgin Peribleptos church, Mystras

Archaeological Museum of Mystras, 5th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, Greece

2. Alexander fights the monster of Habash

Page from an illustrated manuscript of the *Shahnama*, depicting Eskander fighting a monster in Ethiopia. Opaque watercolour, gold, and ink on paper, which runs across the centre of a page of Persian text

Made in Tabriz, Iran, Mongol period, before 1335

590.5 × 396.9mm

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 30.105; Denman Waldo Ross Collection

3a. Silver tetradrachm of Antiochos VIII (121–96 BC), mint of Antioch, issued in 121–113 BC

Obv. Antiochos VII's diademed head right

Rev. Zeus Ouranios standing left, holding star and sceptre. The accompanying Greek inscription reads as *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ/ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ* (= of King Antiochos the Illustrious)

Diam. 28 mm; wt. 16.4g

The Barber Institute Coin Collection, G29

3b. Copper dirham of Najm al-Din Alpi, Artuqid ruler of Mardin
(AH 547–72, AD 1152–76)

Obv. Portrait of ruler to the right

Rev. Arabic inscription in four lines: *il-ghāzī/Malik al-Umarā/abu'l Muzaffar/Alpī bin* (=Ilghazi/King of all Kings/Father of Victory/Son of/)

Right margin: *Timurtāsh bin* (=Timurtash)

Left margin: *bin Artuq* (=who is the son of Artuq)

Diam. 28mm; wt. 13g

The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK359; P. D. Whitting Collection

4a. Gold solidus of Constantine the Great (303–37), mint of Nicomedia, 355

Obv. Diademed head of Constantine looking upwards

Rev. Victory seated on a cuirass shield, inscribing VOT XXX on a shield held by Genius

Diam. 21mm; wt. 4.5g

The Barber Institute Coin Collection, R3095; P. D. Whitting Collection

4b. Copper dirham of Qutb al-Din II-Ghazi II, Artuqid ruler of Mardin
(AH 572–80, AD 1176–84), mint of Diyarbakir

Obv. Portrait of ruler to the right. Marginal inscription in Arabic around the head: *bin Alpī bin, Timurtāsh bin, bin Artuq' Īl-ghāzī* (=son of Timurtash, (who is the) son of Artuq, Ilghazi)

Rev. Inscription in Arabic *il-ghāzī/li-Mawlānā al-Mālik al-ālam/al-cādil Qutb al-Dīn/Malik al-umarā Shāh/Diyarbakr* (=Ilghazi/for our Lord the King of the world/the just Qutb al-Din/King of all Kings, Shah/(mint of) Diyarbakır)

Diam. 29mm; wt. 9.1 g

The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK45; P. D. Whitting Collection

5. Copper fals of Nasir al-Din Mohammad, Danishmendid ruler of Sivas (AH 528–36, AD 1134–42)

Obv. *MA/AHKICII/ACHCPΩ/MANIA[C]*

Rev. *TOAHC/MAXAM/TIC*

Diam. 25mm; wt. 5.84g

The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK419; P. D. Whitting Collection

6. Bronze medal of Sultan Mehmet II by Bertoldo di Giovanni, c.1480

Obv. Mehmet II in bust, facing left, wearing a turban and broad-collared outer garment over a loose-fitting robe. The Latin inscription reads as

MAVM^hET ASIE ACTRAPESVNZIS MAGNE QVE CRETIE IMPERAT.
(=Mehmet, Emperor of Asia and Trepizond and Magna Grecia)

Rev. Mehmet II on a chariot, holding in his left hand a small figure, possibly a Victory. At the back of chariot the personifications of Trebizond, Asia, and Greece appear naked and bound. Accompanying inscriptions in Latin identify the figures (*TRAPESVNTV*, *CRETIE*, *ASIE*). God Mars leads the triumph. In exergue the personifications of the sea and earth. The accompanying inscription in Latin indicates who the creator of this medal is (*OPVS/BERTOLTV/FIORENTIN/SCVLTO/RIS*=The work of Bertoldo, Florentine sculptor)

Diam. 93mm

The British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, 1919-10-11

7. Silver Crusader (half) dirham, mint of Acre, AD 1251 (?)

Obv. Inscription in Arabic: *Allāh wāhid huwa/al-īmān + wāhid/al-ma'mūdiyya wāhid* (=One God, One Faith, One Baptism)

Blundered marginal inscription: *duriba bi 'Akka, sana alf wa mi'atayn wa ahad wa khamsīn li tajassud* (?) (struck in Acre, year one thousand and two hundred and one and fifty (?) of the Incarnation)

Rev. *l-āb wa'l ibn/wa'l rūh al-qudūs/ilāh wāhid* (=The Father, the Son And the Holy Spirit, One Divinity)

Blundered Marginal inscription: *Lahu al-majd, ilā abad, al-abadīn, āmīn, āmīn* (He is the Glory for ever and ever, Amen, Amen)

Diam. 23mm; wt. 2.92g

The Barber Institute Coin Collection, CR14; P. D. Whitting Collection

8a. Copper follis of Tancred, mint of Antioch

Obv. Bust of Christ

Rev. *TA-NK/P-H* at the angles of a Latin cross

Diam. 22.5mm ; wt. 3.0g

The Barber Institute Coin Collection, CR1; P. D. Whitting Collection

8b. Copper follis of Emperor Romanos IV (1068–71), mint of Constantinople

Obv. Bust of Christ facing IC / NI and XC / KA in the field

Rev. Cross with globus and two pellets at each extremity and X at centre; in the angles

C – R / P – Δ

Diam. 17.5mm; wt. 9.77g

The Barber Institute Coin Collection, B5433; P. D. Whitting Collection

9. Copper follis of Tancred, mint of Antioch

Obv. Bust of Tancred, facing, wearing turban and holding sword upwards. The worn and blundered invocation surrounding the ruler's image is in Greek +*KEBOHΘEIT* [(=Lord, aid Tancred)]

Rev. *IC-XC/NI-KA* at the angles of a Latin cross with pellets at each extremity and with floral ornaments to the left and right of the base

Diam. XX; wt. 3.2g

The Barber Institute Coin Collection, CR69ADD; P. D. Whitting Collection

10. Copper dirham of Al-Nasir Salah ad-Din Yusuf I (Saladin)

(AH 567–89, AD 1171–93)

Obv. Turbaned ruler seated cross-legged on a Byzantine-styled square throne, and holding a globe. The Arabic inscription is anti-clockwise and reads as] *al-nāsir Salāh al-dunyā wa' al-dīn Yūsuf bin Ayyūb* (=the Benevolent and the Peace of the World and Faith, Yusuf son of Ayyub)

Rev. Arabic inscription in three lines: *al-Imām al-nā'*[dot under s] *sīr al-dīn Allah/Amīr al-mu'minīn* (=Supreme and Benevolent Leader of the Faith of Allah, the King of all Muslims)

Marginal inscription: *duriba hadhā al-dirham sene sitte semanīn wa khamsemi'a* (=this dirham was struck in the year six and eighty and five hundred [AH 586])

Diam. 26mm; wt. 9.7g

The Barber Institute Coin Collection, TK195; P. D. Whitting Collection

11a. Silver coronation tram of Levon I, King of Cilician Armenia (1198–1219)

Obv. Levon kneeling before the Virgin or Christ; above, *Manus Dei* descending from clouds. The inscription in Armenian reads as +LEVON, KING OF ARMENIANS

Rev. Long cross between two lions rampant. The obverse inscription continues on the reverse and reads as BY THE WILL OF GOD

Diam. 20mm; wt. 2.9g

The Barber Institute Coin Collection, AR7; P. D. Whitting Collection

11b. Gold hyperpyron of Emperor John II, mint of Constantinople (1118–40)

Obv. Christ enthroned. The accompanying inscription reads +*KE BOH EI*

Rev. John blessed by the Virgin; to the left Ιω ΔΕCΠΟΤΗ

Diam. 29mm; wt. 3.73g

The Barber Institute Coin Collection, B5625; P. D. Whitting Collection

12a. Silver tram of Hetoum I, King of Cilician Armenia (1226–70)

Obv. Queen Zabel and King Hetoum standing facing, holding long cross between them. The surrounding inscription reads as BY THE WILL OF GOD

Rev. Crowned lion standing right, head facing, left paw raised; long cross behind. The surrounding inscription reads as Hetoum King of Armenians
Diam. 20mm; wt. 3.2g

The Barber Institute Coin Collection AR83; P. D. Whitting Collection

12b. Billon trachy of Emperor Alexios I (1081–1118), mint of Constantinople, plated and pierced

Obv. Full-length figure of John II beardless, crowned by Christ, bearded and nimbate; in field above IC XC. The surviving inscription reads as +*KE BOHΘEI*

Rev. Alexios I and Eirene, both standing and facing, holding a long patriarchal cross between them. The blundered inscription reads as +*ΑΛΕΙΩΣΑΕ ΕΙΡΗΝΑΓΥ*

Diam. 28mm; wt. 3.75 g

The Barber Institute Coin Collection, B5550B; P. D. Whitting Collection

13a. Silver tram of Levon I, King of Cilician Armenia (1198–1219)

Obv. King Levon I seated on a lion-decorated throne, holding globus cruciger and a fleur-de-lis. The surrounding inscription in Armenian reads as LEVON KING OF ARMENIANS

Rev. A long cross between two lions rampant. The surrounding inscription reads as BY THE WILL OF GOD

Diam. 21.5mm; wt. 2.94g

The Barber Institute Coin Collection AR27; P. D. Whitting Collection

13b. Silver bracteate of Henry VI, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (1190–7), mint of Frankfurt

The emperor is seated on an elaborate backless throne, holding globus cruciger and fleur-de-lis topped sceptre

Diam: 28mm; wt. 0.66 g

The British Museum, London, Department of Coins and Medals, CM 1845,0426.117

14. Silver bilingual tram of Hetoum I, King of Cilician Armenia (1226–70) with Sultan Kaikhusraw AH 640 (AD 1242/3)

Obv. Equestrian king Hetoum wearing a crown and holding a sceptre capped with a fleur-de-lis. Cross and crescent left and right of the king's head. The surrounding inscription in Armenian reads as HETOUM KING OF ARMENIANS

Rev. The three line inscription, and then the counterclockwise surrounding inscription on all sides (both in Arabic) inside a dotted border read as THE SUBLIME SULTAN/PROTECTOR OF THE WORLD AND FAITH/KAY-KHUSRAW SON OF KAYQUBAD

STRUCK IN SIS, THE YEAR SEVEN AND THIRTY AND SIX HUNDRED

Diam. 29.5mm; wt. 2.9g

The Barber Institute Coin Collection AR45; P. D. Whitting Collection

15. Copper pogh of Levon III, King of Cilician Armenia (1301–7), Mint of Sis

Obv. The king seated in oriental fashion, surrounded by inscription in Armenian LEVON KING

Rev. Latin cross surrounded by inscription in Armenian LEVON KING

Diam. 21mm; wt. 2.72 g

The Barber Institute Coin Collection AR165; P. D. Whitting Collection

16a. Silver coin of Georgi V the Brilliant, King of Georgia (1315–1346)

Obv. St Eugene standing and facing *O AT [] GENIO*

Rev. The king standing and facing, holding globus cruciger in his left hand and labarum in his right; *Manus Dei* to the right, reaching for the head of the king; the star of David in the bottom right corner; vertical inscription to the left, *Iω O KOMN*

Diam. 21mm; wt. 2.6g

The Barber Institute Coin Collection GR12; P. D. Whitting Collection

16b. Silver aspron of John II Megalos Komnenos, Emperor of Trebizond (1280–97)

Obv. St Eugenios standing and facing *O AT [] GENIOC*

Rev. John II standing and facing, holding globus cruciger in his left hand and labarum in his right; *Manus Dei* to the right, reaching for the head of the emperor; fleur-de-lis in the bottom right corner; vertical inscriptions to the left and right of John I, *I O KOMNI NO*

Diam. 24mm; wt. 2.72g

The Barber Institute Coin Collection ET79

17a. Silver coin (*Kirmanueli*) of Georgi the Brilliant, King of Georgia (1315–46)

Obv. St Eugenios standing and facing

Rev. The king standing and facing, wearing a female stemma with pendilia, which is fashioned on that worn by Theodora, Empress of Trebizond

Diam. 21mm; wt. 3.84g

The Barber Institute Coin Collection GR1; P. D. Whitting Collection

17b. Silver aspron of Theodora Megale Komnene, Empress of Trebizond (1284/5)

Obv. St Eugenios standing and facing

Rev. Theodora standing and facing, holding globus cruciger in her right hand; *Manus Dei* to the left, reaching for the head of the empress; vertical inscriptions to the left and right, ΘΕΟΔΩΡΑ ΗΚΟΜΝΗΝ

Diam. 22mm; wt. 2.8g

The Barber Institute Coin Collection ET132

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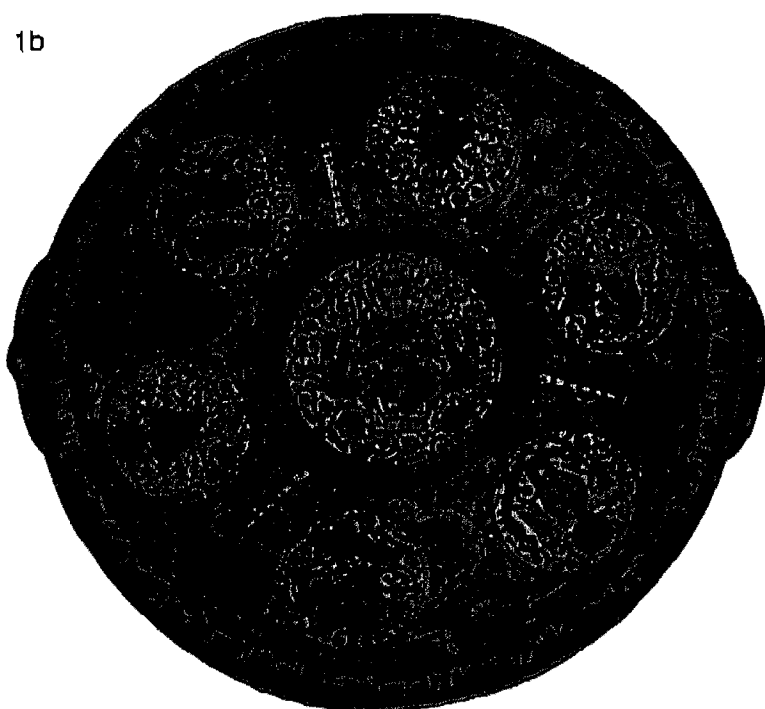
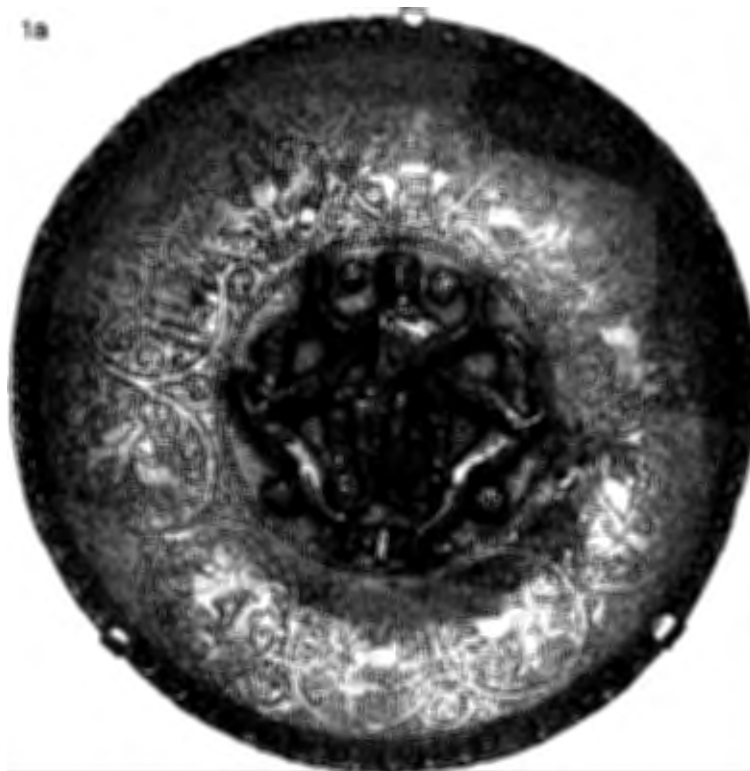


Plate 1. Figs. 1a and 1b (see Georganteli, Catalogue, pp. 164–5)

1c



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Plate 2. Figs. 1c and 2 (see Georganteli, catalogue, p.165)

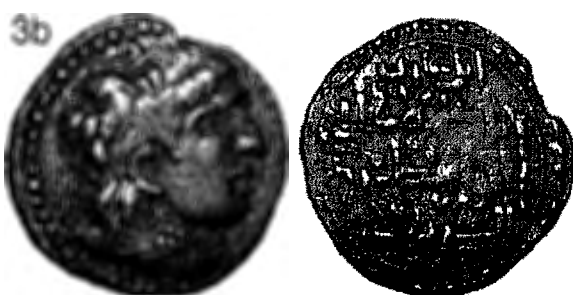


Plate 3. Figs. 3a to 6 (see Georganteli, catalogue, pp. 165-7). Figure 6 set at scale 2:1.



Plate 4. Figs. 7 to 12b (see Georganteli, catalogue, pp. 167–9)

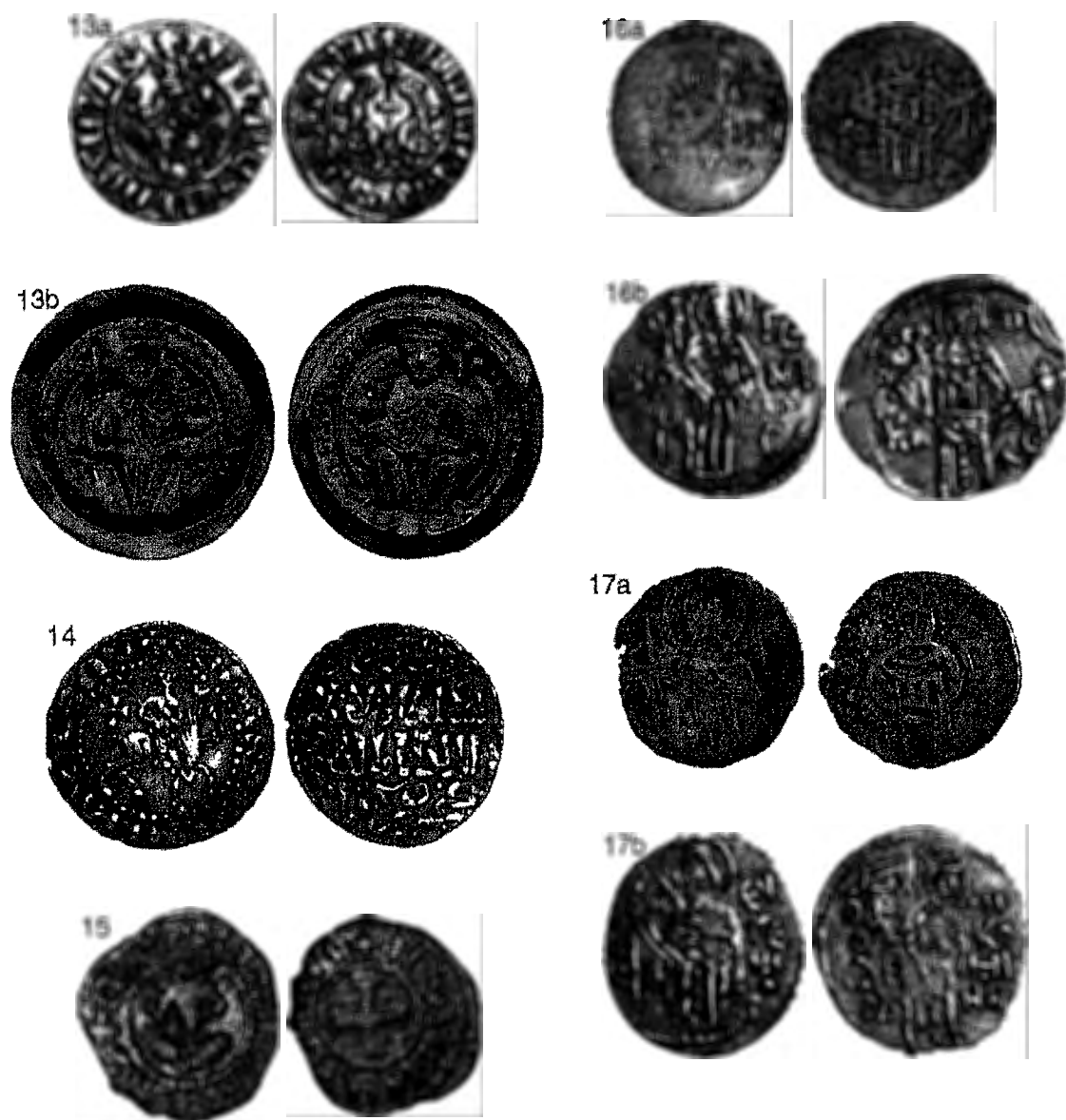


Plate 5. Figs. 13a to 17b (see Georganteli, catalogue, pp. 169–71)

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Plate 6. Fig. 18: 'Miracle of healing' scene from the frame of the Sacro Volto Mandylion icon in San Bartolomeo degli Armeni, Genoa (G. Wolf *et al.* (eds.), *Mandylion: Intorno al 'Sacro Volto' da Bisanzio a Genova* (Milan, 2004), 59 (pl. 10); image courtesy of the Church of San Bartolomeo degli Armeni.

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Plate 6. Fig. 19: 'The Freising 'Lukasbild'', showing Mary, 'Hope of the Hopeless' (M. Vassilaki, 'Praying for the Salvation of the Empire', *Images of the Mother of God*, ed. M. Vassilaki (Aldershot, 2005), 271, fig. 22.1; image courtesy of the Diözesanmuseum für Christliche Kunst der Erzdiözese München und Freising, Domberg, Freising)

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Plate 7. Fig. 20: Sarcophagus, Mytilene (photograph C. Wright); Fig. 21 Broken plaque, Mytilene (photograph C. Wright)

22



23



Plate 8. Fig. 22 Broken plaque, Mytilene (photograph C. Wright); Fig. 23 Plaque, Mytilene (photograph C. Wright)

- Wittek, P., 'Le Sultan de Rum', *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, 6 (1938), 361–90.
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Conquest Legitimized: The Making of a Byzantine Emperor in Crusader Constantinople (1204–1261)

Teresa Shawcross

‘Show me your insignia and I’ll tell you who you *want* to be’.
(Percy E. Schramm, *attr.*)

On 13 April 1204, Constantinople, its defences breached and buildings on fire, fell to the crusaders. Of the five men who had successively tried to rule over the city in the previous twelve months, two were dead, and the other three had fled. Yet, as the conquerors made their way up the smoke-filled streets, and entered the palaces, monasteries, and churches, they would, again and again, have found themselves coming suddenly face to face with an emperor. Imperial portraits were, after all, prominently displayed on walls, boards, and banners throughout the city. Here the depiction was that of the emperor subjugating foes, fighting battles, or besieging castles, there of him offering up a model of a city’s fortifications which he had rebuilt, or of a church which he had restored, elsewhere of him lying in state. Sometimes the emperor appeared in splendid isolation, sometimes flanked by his ancestors, his consort, or his children, or in the company of Christ, the Blessed Virgin, and the Saints.¹ Such portraits had been produced in great numbers in the years prior to the Fourth Crusade, and they were especially plentiful for the reign of Isaac

The author would like to thank Catherine Holmes and Jonathan Harris for reading a draft of this study and suggesting a number of improvements, as well as David Pratt and Miri Rubin for information on specific points.

¹ P. Magdalino and R. Nelson, ‘The Emperor in Byzantine Art of the Twelfth Century’, *BF* 8 (1982), 123–83 and pls. III–XIV; E. H. McNeal, ‘The Story of Isaac and Andronicus’, *Speculum*, 9 (1934), 324–9; A. Eastmond, ‘An Intentional Error? Imperial Art and “Mis”-interpretation under Andronikos I Komnenos’, *Art Bulletin*, 76 (1994), 502–10.

II Angelos, with regard to whom it was said that 'there was not an abbey in Constantinople which did not have his image painted over its portal'.²

One might have expected that the crusaders, following the capture of Constantinople, would have gone to considerable lengths to destroy these pictorial representations, and annihilate the memory both of the men and of the deeds portrayed. Yet contemporary accounts do not record the occurrence of any such thing. On the contrary, the new masters of the Byzantine Empire appear to have sought to legitimize the conquest and occupation by presenting themselves as heirs to a long line of rightful rulers—with their arrival on the scene marking not a break with the past, but rather an extension and, perhaps even in some measure, a revitalization of the glories of the previous era. The assault on Constantinople was justified by arguing that it had been a necessity carried out in order to right the twin wrongs of usurpation and murder which had been committed, and to re-establish order.

This element of continuity, hitherto generally overlooked,³ needs to be emphasized. Taking as its subject the imperial dynasty founded in the thirteenth century on the edge of Bosphorus by men who hailed from the edge of the North Sea, this study examines the public image that dynasty promulgated of itself not only within the immediate confines of the erstwhile Byzantine capital, through coronations and the organization of court ceremonial and culture, but also more widely, by means of the issuing of official documents and, it would seem, coinage. The period under consideration stretches from 1204 to 1261—that is, from the reign of Baldwin I, who was the first of the crusader emperors, up to and including that of his nephew and namesake, Baldwin II, who was the last of them. Although a number of dimensions of the establishment and maintenance of the new regime will inevitably be touched upon in passing, we will not here be concerned primarily with mechanisms such as marriage policy, diplomacy, or warfare, nor will we focus on issues pertaining to land tenure, or on administrative and institutional survivals in religion, the law, and taxation.⁴ Instead, we will concentrate on what was perhaps the most arresting feature of the new regime, namely its extensive appropriation of the symbols of status—the ornaments or trappings of power—that had been characteristic of the rulers it supplanted.

² *Recueil des historiens des croisades* (Paris, 1844–95), i/2, p. 22.

³ The most notable exception is an article by P. Lock, 'The Latin Emperors as Heirs to Byzantium', in P. Magdalino (ed.), *New Constantines* (Aldershot, 1994), 295–304. This, however, takes a rather different approach to that adopted here. See also F. Van Tricht, *The Latin Renovatio of Byzantium* (Leiden, 2011), 65–90 (published after this vol. went to press).

⁴ For work done on these areas, see D. Jacoby, *Société et démographie à Byzance et en Roumanie latine* (London, 1975); idem, *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion* (Northampton, 1989); idem, *Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 2001); R. L. Wolff, *Studies in the Latin Empire of Constantinople* (London, 1976); P. Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean: 1204–1500* (London, 1995); P. Topping, *Studies on Latin Greece, AD 1205–1715* (Aldershot, 1997).

We will argue that, during the initial conquest, the indigenous population not only of Constantinople and its hinterland, but also of other territories of the Byzantine Empire, greeted the crusaders with specific gestures and words, enacting traditional rituals.⁵ The conquerors responded by participating in these rituals. What is more, harnessing the rich language of power—both verbal and visual—to which Byzantines had grown habituated over the centuries and took for granted, the new regime employed that language as the preferred mode of communication in which it would speak to and negotiate with those it claimed as its subjects. Given that the new regime was ‘very short of men’,⁶ lacking the substantial military forces needed for a programme of oppression and coercion, the survival of ceremonial, as well as of other aspects of imperial representation, could have initially been a matter of expediency. But there is evidence that the use of this indigenous discourse of rulership was not a temporary fix limited to the months during which the regime attempted to establish itself, but rather a feature that remained constant throughout the period of crusader hegemony. There were compelling reasons, after all, for preserving old customs. The performance of specific rituals both by an emperor and in that emperor’s presence had long been considered by Byzantines proof that government was being exercised with dignity and order by the current incumbent of the throne.⁷ Repetition of rituals from reign to reign, moreover, was considered to offer guarantees regarding constitutional stability not only in the present but also in the future.⁸ Moreover, the same rituals were tried and tested means—as Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, who himself ruled in the tenth century as emperor, emphasized—by which the majesty of imperial authority was reinforced and rendered the object of admiration among both one’s own subjects and foreigners.⁹ Certainly, ambassadors from the west, such as Liudprand of Cremona in 949, had been hugely impressed by the scenes that had been played out before their eyes in the throne room and the banqueting hall of the imperial palace.¹⁰ Such indeed,

⁵ Gunther von Pairis, *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, ed. P. Orth (Hildesheim and Zurich, 1994), ch. 18; Niketas Choniates, *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. J.-L. van Dieten, CFHB 11 (Berlin, 1975), i. 597–8; Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. J. Dufournet (Paris, 2004), chs. 272–4; Henri de Valenciennes, *Histoire de l’empereur Henri de Constantinople*, ed. J. Longnon (Paris, 1948), chs. 663, 671; see also ch. 683. These episodes are discussed below.

⁶ Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ch. 336.

⁷ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *Le Livre des cérémonies*, ed. A. Vogt (Paris, 1935, repr. 1967); A. M. Cameron, ‘The Construction of Court Ritual: The Byzantine “Book of Ceremonies”’ in D. Cannadine and S. Price (eds.), *Rituals of Royalty* (Cambridge, 1987), 106–36; H. Maguire, ‘Images of the Court’, in H. C. Evans and W. D. Wixom (eds.), *The Glory of Byzantium* (New York, 1997), 183–91; also M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory* (Cambridge, 1986), 131–230.

⁸ It was understood that what was being imitated in miniature was the ‘harmonious movement’ of an entire cosmos overseen by an omnipotent but benevolent deity. See Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *Le Livre des cérémonies*, i/2. 2.

⁹ Ibid. 1.

¹⁰ Liudprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis*, in *Liudpranti Cremonensis Opera Omnia*, ed. P. Chiesa (Turnhout, 1998), 147–50.

was the renown of the Byzantine court that, on the eve of the Fourth Crusade, an anonymous Francophone poet wrote that the emperor in Constantinople had 7,000 knights dressed in ermine and silk in constant attendance, and lived in a revolving palace that was built out of marble, silver, and gold, and furnished exclusively with items of pure gold.¹¹ Had the newcomers who set themselves up as rulers in 1204 turned their back on the very things that inspired such tales and legends, they would have been seen as fatally damaging the prestige of the Byzantine Empire both at home and abroad. To avoid this, the Latin Empire of Constantinople founded by the crusaders was compelled from the start to undergo a process of 'Byzantinization', incorporating within its public image a number of elements of the indigenous political culture of the eastern Mediterranean. Indeed, as we shall see, the ideological ground claimed by the new regime, and the mental connotations which that regime sought to foster, succeeded not merely in associating it with Byzantium in an abstract sense, but more specifically, with the very real and recent Byzantium of the Angeloi, and to an even greater degree, of the Komnenoi.

1. THE CORONATION

A certain preoccupation with the preservation of tradition can be shown to have already been evident at the inauguration of the first crusader emperor. Of our sources for the event, the most important is an account of the Fourth Crusade known as *The Conquest of Constantinople*, composed by Robert de Clari, a knight from Picardy and himself a participant in many of the episodes he describes, while further information is to be found in the narrative of Geoffroy de Villehardouin, another eyewitness, as well as in texts by Aubri des Trois-Fontaines and, dating to a somewhat later period, by Paolo Ramusio.¹² According to these sources, in the spring of 1204, Count Baldwin of Flanders and Hainault, on his accession, was immediately raised aloft and

¹¹ *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, ed. A. E. Cobby, tr. G. S. Burgess (New York, 1988), 44–8.

¹² These sources are discussed, and the scholarship highlighting their respective strengths and weaknesses reviewed, in M. Angold, *The Fourth Crusade* (Harlow, 2003), 3–27. In other recent scholarship, such as P. Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual* (Princeton, 2001), the ideological and literary pressures in medieval chronicles have been highlighted, as has the effect these pressures have upon the reliability of accounts of political rituals. Though certain distorting strategies are at work in our sources, given the western, and to a great extent Francophone, audience targeted by the texts in question, these should not be construed as resulting in the exaggeration of survivals of practices derived from the traditions of the Byzantine Empire; on the contrary, the trend, if anything, is more likely to be in the other direction, with Byzantine elements being overtly westernized in order to make the narrative more readily comprehensible.

borne through the city.¹³ During his actual coronation, which took place a few days later, he left what is referred to as the palace of the 'Boukoleon'.¹⁴ From there, he processed to the Church of the Holy Wisdom, where, in a chamber or space apart, his garments were removed and he was clothed in his imperial robes.¹⁵ They shod him with 'shoes which were made of red leather with precious gems', or, according to another account, 'scarlet stockings' and 'shoes covered with precious stones',¹⁶ and dressed him in three garments: a 'splendid tunic stitched with golden buttons [...] from the shoulders to the waist'; then a piece of fabric 'made of a heavy silk weave and studded with precious stones' that 'stretched down to the ankles in front and was so long behind' it obliged the wearer to wind it round his waist and tie it there, before placing it 'over his left arm like a maniple'; finally, a rich 'mantle' on which 'eagles made out of jewels shone to such effect that the cloth seemed to be made of fire'.¹⁷ After this robing, the procession, during which 'the imperial banner' was displayed, continued to the altar, where Baldwin was partially disrobed and anointed, before being robed once again, his cloak being arranged in such a fashion that it was open and pinned to one shoulder.¹⁸ Next, the crown was placed upon his head, and some sort of object with a large and magnificent gemstone was hung around his neck and fastened securely.¹⁹ He was led to a raised throne where, holding a sceptre and other insignia, he sat in state, remaining there until the end of the liturgy. Following this, a white horse was brought for him, and he was taken, again in procession, back to the palace, where he was enthroned for a second time and 'all the Greeks who were present performed ritual adoration of him as a sacred emperor'.²⁰ Tables were laid, and the ruler banqueted in the hall together with his magnates.²¹ At some point in the course of the general festivities—possibly, but not necessarily, on the day of the coronation itself—games featuring chariot races followed by jousting are said to have been held in the Hippodrome before the people.²²

Interpreting this sequence of ceremonial acts is not straightforward, because ritual in the Byzantine Empire had never been static, but subject rather to a relentless process of evolution: with the passage of time, certain customs

¹³ Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, chs. 260–1.

¹⁴ Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. P. Noble (Edinburgh, 2005), ch. 96; C. Mango, 'The Palace of the Boukoleon', *Cahiers archéologiques*, 45 (1997), 41–50.

¹⁵ Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ch. 96, and Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ch. 263.

¹⁶ *Chronica Alberici Monachi Trium Fontium*, ed. P. Scheffer-Boichorst, *MGH SS* 23 (Hanover, 1874), 884; Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ch. 96.

¹⁷ Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ch. 96.

¹⁸ Ibid. ¹⁹ Ibid. ²⁰ Ibid., ch. 97. ²¹ Ibid.

²² Paolo Ramusio, *De Bello Constantinopolitano et Imperatoribus Comnenis per Gallos, et Venetos resitutis* (Venice, 1634), 141. Note, however, the late date of this particular source.

would fall into disuse, or no longer be adequately comprehended.²³ As a result, details would change considerably from performance to performance, organizers selecting from an extensive repertory those elements which best conveyed the message desired at the moment in question.²⁴ A ceremony performed under, for example, the Komnenoi would have differed in many respects from that performed under the Macedonians or the Palaiologoi. Recognition of this fact is crucial, for while two handbooks of court etiquette, dating from the tenth and fourteenth centuries and known conventionally as the *Of Ceremonies* by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and the *Treatise on Offices* by Pseudo-Kodinos, have survived, no prescriptive text describing ceremonial has been handed down to us from Byzantium for the years immediately prior to the Fourth Crusade.²⁵ Nor, for that matter, can the extant liturgical material be relied upon, since those passages preserved in a third main text which is of relevance, the *Euchologion* or book of prayers of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, may well reflect practices of the eighth century or even earlier,²⁶ while material in a fourth text, a presentation by Symeon of Thessalonica of ecclesiastical and monastic rites, dates from the fifteenth century.²⁷ Such normative material as is extant, even so, when taken together with the narrative accounts from the reigns of the Komnenoi and the Angeloi, and also with the physical evidence from representations of imperial portraits

²³ This was acknowledged by the masters of ceremonies themselves. One 14th-cent. Byzantine text, attributed to Pseudo-Kodinos, explained that, at Easter, the liturgy used to be celebrated in a certain manner in the Church of the Holy Wisdom, but this 'is not now the case'; also, that a particular officer, the *pinkernes*, used to accompany the emperor outside the city carrying specific equipment, but 'in our times this is no longer the case'. Elsewhere, the same text noted that an item of dress had changed, confessing that this had happened in such a way that 'exactly what was formerly the head-piece is unknown'. Conversely, in certain passages, the text identified the wearing of a particular costume but admitted that 'the explanation as to why [. . .] is unknown'. See Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. and French tr. J. Verpeaux (Paris, 1966), 211–2, 237, 238, 247, 276; M. McCormick, 'Analysing Imperial Ceremonies', *JÖB* 35 (1985), 1–20; A. Grabar, 'Pseudo-Kodinos et les cérémonies de la cour byzantine au XIV^e siècle', *Art et société à Byzance sous les Paléologues* (Venice, 1971), 197.

²⁴ According to one source, indeed, it was considered important to create a collection of all the written material on different imperial accessions, giving this in summary form, so that when the turn of new imperial accessions came, it would be possible to put together a coronation that contained what was most appropriate for the specific cases concerned. See Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *Constantini Porphyrogeniti Imperatoris de Cerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae Libri Duo*, ed. J. Reiske (Bonn, 1829–40), i. 417; see also G. Dagron, *Emperor and Priest*, tr. J. Birrell (Cambridge, 2003), 70, 72, 78, and D. G. Angelov, *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2007), 358, 411–13.

²⁵ See Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *Le Livre des cérémonies*, ii/1. 1–10; Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 252–73 and 353–61. This material is discussed in P. Yannopoulos, 'Le Couronnement de l'empereur à Byzance: rituel et fond institutionnel', *B* 61 (1991), 71–92.

²⁶ *Euchologion Sive Rituale Graecorum Complectens Ritus et Ordines Divinae Liturgiae*, ed. J. Goar (Paris, 1647), 924–6, while a recent edn., taking into account other versions, can be found in M. Arranz, 'Couronnement royal et autres promotions de cour: les sacrements de l'institution de l'ancien Euchologe constantinopolitain', *OCP* 56/1 (1990), 83–133.

²⁷ Symeon of Thessalonica, *PG* 155, cols. 351–6, also ed. in M. Arranz, 'Couronnement royal et autres promotions de cour', 124–6.

in manuscript illuminations, mosaics, coinage, and other visual media,²⁸ points to the existence of considerable overlap between the coronation of Baldwin and that of his immediate predecessors.²⁹

Thus, the physical spaces through which the new emperor went in procession, and in which he sat enthroned, were the same as those which had habitually lain at the heart of imperial displays within Constantinople: the foremost of these was a sprawling complex which occupied the eastern tip of the city, the Great Palace, also known as the Boukoleon, after one of its most substantial buildings, while the other two were the Hippodrome and the Church of the Holy Wisdom, structures contiguous to the Palace and the centres of civil and religious ceremonial respectively.³⁰ Accepted practice was also followed with regard to the order of different parts of the coronation service. Among the conventions adhered to by the Byzantines that are of relevance here are those of robing the emperor in a side-chamber before his entrance, of performing the coronation proper at a portable altar on the great *ambo* located at the end of the central aisle before the chancel screen, of installing the emperor within the church on a raised throne of some description, and, finally, of leading the newly crowned emperor away from the church on horseback.³¹ Key elements such as the acclamation of the emperor as *hagios* or sacred, and the *proskynesis* or ritual prostration before the emperor were executed.³²

Precedents can be tentatively identified in Byzantium even for the act of unction. While sacramental anointing admittedly had been an integral part of western rite from early on, and had been received, for instance, by a series of German emperors, including Frederick I Barbarossa in Aachen in 1152, we should not assume that it was the crusaders who introduced such anointing into eastern coronations.³³ Supporting the notion of the existence in Byzantium of material (as opposed to notional or metaphorical) anointing already in

²⁸ Extracts of the narrative sources have been assembled and discussed in A. Christophilopoulou, *Ἐκλογή, ἀναγόμεναι καὶ στάσεις τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ αὐτοκράτορος* (Athens, 1956), while the visual material is analysed in M. G. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images* (Leiden and Boston, 2003), 11–50; eadem, 'Cultural Identity and Dress: The Case of Late Byzantine Ceremonial Costume', *JOB* 57 (2007), 95–134.

²⁹ See B. Hendrickx, 'Les Institutions de l'Empire Latin de Constantinople (1204–1261): le pouvoir impérial (L'empereur, les régents, l'impératrice)', *Byzantina*, 6 (1974), 99–101 and 128–9.

³⁰ Cameron, 'Construction of Court Ritual', 106–36; Dagron, *Emperor and Priest*, 84–103.

³¹ Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *Le Livre des cérémonies*, ii/1, p.1; Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 256, 258, 267, 269; *Euchologion*, 926.

³² Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *Le Livre des cérémonies*, ii/2, p.2; Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 258; *Euchologion*, 924–6; F. E. Brightman, 'Byzantine Imperial Coronations', *JTS* 2 (1901), 359–92; C. N. Tsirpanlis, 'The Imperial Coronation and Theory in *De Cerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae* of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus', *Κληρονομία* 4 (1972), 63–91, which is, however, heavily derivative; Dagron, *Emperor and Priest*, 53–5, 78.

³³ Otto of Freising, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa by Otto of Freising and his Continuator, Rahewin*, tr. C. C. Mierow (New York, 1953), 117.

the twelfth century is the manner in which the verb *chrío*, signifying 'to anoint', is used by Niketas Choniates in connection with the inauguration not only of Baldwin and Henry, but also equally of Manuel I, Isaac II, and Alexios III.³⁴ Of particular importance here is a passage referring to Alexios III Angelos, in which he is described as having gone to the Church of the Holy Wisdom 'in order to be anointed emperor and be vested with the insignia of office according to custom'.³⁵ The strongest evidence, however, comes from the written exchanges in the early thirteenth century between Demetrios Chromatenos, Archbishop of Ochrid, John Apokaupos, Metropolitan of Nau-paktos, and Germanos II, Patriarch of Nicaea, in which the practice of unction is taken for granted by the three epistolographers, who consider it to be a time-honoured tradition.³⁶

The choice of regalia adopted by Baldwin I also deserves attention, given that the items in question, unfamiliar to the crusaders, as is apparent from the laboured description of the main eyewitness account, that of Robert de Clari, can be identified as closely linked not only to the official imperial costume and insignia of the Byzantine Empire, but more specifically to those items used for coronations. With regard to the insignia, written sources attest to the use from the ninth century to the twelfth of a cross-topped sceptre or baton, often referred to simply as the 'cross', while illuminations and coins, particularly from Komnenian era onwards, in some instances have the emperor holding in addition a standard or *labarum*, the latter being depicted as a long staff surmounted by a small square panel decorated with precious stones.³⁷ One of the most distinctive features of Byzantine imperial dress was the red colour of the footwear concerned, and their ornamentation, commented upon by eleventh and twelfth-century sources, with pearls and precious stones.³⁸

³⁴ Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, i. 52, 346, 562, 596, 612, 642.

³⁵ Ibid. i. 457.

³⁶ The main point of disagreement between these individuals, indeed, concerned not the act itself, but the identity of the person who should perform it, and the nature of the substance—*myrrh* (*myron*) or oil (*elaion*)—to be used. See in particular, Demetrios Chomatenos, *Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata Diaphora*, ed. G. Prinzing, CFHB 38 (Berlin, 2002), 370–8; G. Prinzing, 'Die Antigraphe des Patriarchen Germanos II. an Erzbischof Demetrios Chomatenos von Ohrid und die Korrespondenz zum nikäisch-epirotischen Konflikt 1212–1233', *Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi*, 3 (1984), 21–64; V. G. Vasilievskij, 'Epirotica saeculi XIII', *Vizantiiskii vremennik*, 3 (1896), 233–99; G. Ostrogorsky, 'Zur Kaisersalbung und Schilderhebung im spätbyzantinischen Krönungszeremoniell', *Historia*, 4 (1955), 246–52; D. N. Nicol, 'Kaisersalbung: The Unction of Emperors in Late Byzantine Coronation Ritual', *BMGS* 2 (1976), 37–5; R. Macrides, 'Bad Historian or Good Lawyer? Demetrios Chomatenos and Novel 131', *DOP* 46 (1992), 187–96; repr. in her *Kinship and Justice in Byzantium, 11th–15th Centuries* (Aldershot, 1999), no. XII.

³⁷ Vat. Urb. gr. 2, fo. 19^v and Vat. gr. 1176, Fo. II^r; discussed in Parani, *Reconstructing*, 31–4.

³⁸ See, for instance, the passage in Nikephoros Bryennios, *Nicephori Bryennii historiarum libri quattuor*, ed. P. Gautier, CFHB 9 (Brussels, 1975), 281, which refers to the imperial regalia assumed by John Bryennios during his rebellion against Nicephoros Botaneiates; H. Maguire, 'Heavenly Court', in his (ed.), *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204* (Washington, DC, 1997), 253; Parani, *Reconstructing*, 30–1.

All three items are explicitly recorded as having been used on the occasion of Baldwin's coronation.

The nature of the robes adopted by Baldwin in the same context is especially striking. The main garment worn by a Byzantine emperor at his coronation had originally been the *chlamys*, a cloak either of ankle or calf length, which was fastened on the right shoulder or at the front with clasps, and had a pair of large square or rectangular insets, known as *tavlia*, at the front.³⁹ Made out of purple cloth with gold panels whose decoration, by the tenth century, may well have been of birds or animals, it became more and more elaborate in the eleventh century, acquiring additional embroidery or woven designs, and bejewelled trimmings.⁴⁰ The association of eagles with imperial dress appears to have been accepted by the late twelfth century, if the surviving evidence regarding the formal robing of Agnès de France, who arrived in Constantinople in 1179 to become the consort of Alexios II Komnenos, is to be trusted. In a presentation manuscript that may be contemporary with the events themselves, the young, fair-haired Agnès is depicted taking off her own western garments and, in preparation for her marriage and enthronement, donning a gown of cloth-of-gold cut in the Byzantine style which had a woven or embroidered design of red eagles.⁴¹ Under the Komnenoi, this *chlamys*, represented in a miniature of Alexios I and attested at the accession of Manuel I, could have started to be combined with an additional item of clothing, the *loros*, which in earlier eras had been worn separately and had been reserved for state occasions other than that of an emperor's coronation and enthronement.⁴² The *loros* was a broad and long strip of jewel-encrusted cloth-of-gold, of which one end had originally been wound around the torso and waist in an intricate manner, before being placed over the left forearm; by the twelfth century it had evolved and been simplified into a sort of narrow scapulary which, while still hanging down to the ankles in front, was easier to put on as it had a hole for the head and required less effort to drape.⁴³ Coinage of the reign of Manuel I shows the emperor dressed in the *loros* and a cloak of some description

³⁹ Parani, *Reconstructing*, 12–13; eadem, 'Cultural Identity and Dress', 99.

⁴⁰ Parani, 'Cultural Identity and Dress', 99.

⁴¹ See Vat. gr. 1851, fo. 3^v, reproduced in Maguire, 'Images of the Court', 191. It should be noted, however, that the dating of the manuscript remains contentious. The evidence presented in the miniature with regard to the woven or embroidered patterns included on imperial costume naturally is of far less value with reference to 12th-cent. practices if the manuscript should in fact be attributed to the Palaiologan era.

⁴² John Kinnamos, *Cinnami Joannis, Epitome Rerum ab Ioanne et Manuele Comnenis Gestarum*, ed. A. Meineke, CSHB (Bonn, 1836), 28 and Vat. gr. 666, fo. 2^r; Parani, *Reconstructing*, 14.

⁴³ Par. gr. 922 fo. 6^r; Barb. gr. 372 fo. 5^r; Coislin 79, fo. 1^r and Vat. gr. 666, fo. 2^v; Vat. Urb. Fo. 2, fo. 19^v; Vat. gr. 1176 fo. II^r; Brightman, 'Byzantine Imperial Coronations', 391–2; M. F. Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire, 1081–1261* (Washington, DC, 1969), 66–7; Parani, *Reconstructing*, 18–19.

which could be the *chlamys*, while a marble relief *tondo* thought to depict the emperor John II, and therefore probably of an earlier date, also has the same rendition of imperial costume.⁴⁴ It may have been the case that, by the turn of the thirteenth century, this combination of garments, namely of the *chlamys* together with the *loros*, had come to be considered the most appropriate attire for the occasion of an imperial coronation.⁴⁵ If so, this would explain why Baldwin came to be clothed in the precise manner in which he was.

Although the coronation which took place in Constantinople after the capture of the city by the crusaders should not be argued to have constituted an exact copy of earlier examples, an attempt does appear to have been made to emulate a specific model. A few months earlier, the crusaders had witnessed the coronation of Alexios IV Angelos, and it would seem that when it was their turn to crown one of their own number as emperor, they reproduced many aspects of the ceremony they had so recently seen. Certainly, great store appears to have been laid in 1204 on the creation, through the employment of certain objects with a pedigree attached to them, of an association of Baldwin I with two of the greatest emperors to have previously reigned in the Queen of Cities, the deeds of one of whom were still within living memory, while those of the other had long ago passed into the realm of legend. Thus, the emperor crowned by the crusaders is described as having worn a great gemstone that had belonged to Manuel I Komnenos, and as having been seated on the throne of Constantine the Great.⁴⁶ Moreover, the week of Baldwin's election and coronation could have been chosen for its special resonance, since deliberations regarding the succession began on 9 May,

⁴⁴ Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, i. 108–9; Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, 117, pl. 15.1–4; DOC IV/ii. 307–8, pl. XIV; H. C. Evans and W. D. Wixson (eds.), *The Glory of Byzantium* (New York, 1997), 200–01 (cat. no. 137). The difficulties posed by this material are discussed in E. Piltz, 'Middle Byzantine Court Costume', in H. Maguire (ed.), *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204* (Washington, DC, 1997), 41; Parani, *Reconstructing*, 14 n. 10.

⁴⁵ The point cannot be proven with certainty, for, while there is extant material for the Komnenoi, we have no portraits or textual descriptions for the Angeloi; it would seem likely, however, that they did not revert back to former practices, since in the 14th cent. the newly crowned Manuel II Palaiologos is attested as still wearing, together with a tunic and the *loros*, a 'golden mantle' (Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 264, 266–7) which may have been the *χλαμύς*. It should be noted that there is another possible reason for the different components of the costume which Baldwin I wore. This reason has less to do with the constituent parts of coronation regalia *per se* than with the time of year at which the particular coronation occurred, which was on a Sunday near Pentecost. We know that Easter and Pentecost were the two feast-days on which the Byzantine emperor traditionally appeared with *loros* (Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *Livre des ceremonies*, i/1, p. 57, 175–6). It may be that an emperor was expected to wear the garment for the entire period between these two dates when participating in ceremonies such as the processions of Easter Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, as well as those on the first Sunday after Easter, the Mesopentecost, and the Ascension.

⁴⁶ Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, chs. 96–7.

while the emperor was crowned on 16 May.⁴⁷ In other words, this pair of events took place on the two Sundays framing one of the most important festivals in the established imperial calendar, that of the anniversary of the foundation, on 11 May, of Constantinople. It is not definite when the inauguration itself of Baldwin I was publicly announced, but matters may have been arranged so that the proclamation was either made on the eve of the anniversary, or indeed coincided with the day itself. Within the city, it had become customary to celebrate that day with the organization of games (the highlight of which were the quadrigas), and such games seem to have continued to be performed under the Komnenoi and the Angeloi, a period during which, from the reign of Manuel I onwards, the Byzantine court had also been introduced to a new fashion, that of jousting and its associated pageantry.⁴⁸ These twelfth-century practices may well be reflected in the holding of chariot races together with jousts after the coronation of the first crusader emperor. Anything, therefore, however small the detail, which could reinforce the message of Baldwin I as the true and worthy successor of those who had previously ruled the Byzantine Empire, seems to have been pressed into use.

Indeed, so absolute was the concern to ensure things were properly carried out, and avoid challenges on the grounds of illegitimacy, that a nod appears to have been made towards a pair of rituals of venerable age which may have fallen into obsolescence by this period. These, which in an earlier era had been carried out by representatives of the imperial army and had indicated military assent at the accession, were the raising aloft of the emperor on a buckler and the imposition of a torc; the latter object had, when first introduced into imperial accessions, been placed upon the emperor's head, as if it were a diadem, but soon came to be positioned instead around the neck.⁴⁹ Both rituals are recorded on numerous occasions up to and including the sixth-century proclamation of Justin II, but after this references seem in the one case

⁴⁷ The precise dates at which these two events took place are to be found in the letter which Baldwin I addressed to Pope Innocent III at the end of May 1204. See *De Oorkonden der Graven van Vlaanderen (1191–Aanvang 1206)*, ed. W. Prevenier (Brussels, 1964), ii. 573 (no. 271). However, this information is called into question by details given in Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, chs. 256–61 and Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, chs. 93–5.

⁴⁸ Anna Komnena, *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, ed. D. R. Reinsch and A. Kambylis, CFHB 40 (Berlin, 2001), 192, 494; Theodore Prodromos, *Historische Gedichte*, ed. W. Hörander (Vienna, 1974), 261–4; John Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 86, 207, 211; K. Horna, 'Eine unedierte Rede des Konstantin Manasses', *Wiener Studien*, 28 (1906), 194–7; Benjamin of Tudela, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, tr. M. N. Adler (London, 1907; repr. New York, 2005), 70–1; *Recueil des historiens des croisades* (Paris, 1844) i/2. 985, 1067; Theodore Balsamon, 'Commentary on the Canons of the Council in Trullo', PG 137, cols. 592–6, 692–3, 757; S. P. Lampros, 'Ἐκφράσεις τῶν ξυλοκονταριῶν τοῦ κραταιοῦ καὶ ἀγίου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου καὶ βασιλέως', *Neos Hellinomnimon*, 5 (1908), 3–18; commented upon by Magdalino and Nelson, 'Emperor in Byzantine Art', 165 and n. 111.

⁴⁹ Corippus, *In Laudem Iustini Augusti Minoris libri iv*, ed. A. Cameron (London, 1976), ii. 130–1.

to become considerably less frequent and in the other to disappear completely.⁵⁰ One passage from the eleventh century does indicate that the rebel Leo Tornikes, during his attempt to usurp the throne from Constantine IX, was proclaimed emperor by his supporters by being placed upon a shield, while another passage from the tenth century tells how, after the death of Romanos II, Nikephoros Phokas, the new emperor, was raised aloft by soldiers, probably on a shield although this is not made explicit; finally, a third passage, dating to the ninth century but referring to events of the seventh century, describes the parading upon a shield of another Phokas prior to his accession.⁵¹ Such rare examples notwithstanding, the accounts otherwise maintain silence until the proclamation of Theodore II Laskaris in the mid-thirteenth century.⁵² Pictorial evidence, however, suggests that the relevant knowledge was never completely lost. A wall-mosaic of the twelfth century in the Church of the Holy Wisdom in Constantinople, which depicts John II Komnenos in his robes of office, shows him wearing what is possibly a pectoral or stiff neck-piece of some sort that could be the distant descendant of the torc.⁵³ Moreover, a group of illuminations in what is probably a twelfth-century manuscript portrays a similarly robed Manuel I Komnenos with some sort of large pendant round his neck.⁵⁴ Other illuminations which were either themselves produced in the eleventh and twelfth centuries or copy models from that period, attest to the practice of portraying rulers, including a number of Byzantine emperors or contenders for the imperial throne, according to an iconography that has them standing upon an elevated shield.⁵⁵ While neither ritual can be identified as having been revived and performed in the case of Baldwin I precisely as they had been employed in the distant past, both seem to have been partially recalled during that emperor's inauguration and coronation through the employment of specific gestures that were of a referential nature.

⁵⁰ Brightman, 'Byzantine Imperial Coronations', 375; Christophilopoulou, 'Εκλογή, ἀναγόρευσις καὶ στέψις τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ αὐτοκράτορος', 3–66.

⁵¹ Michael Psellos, *Chronographie ou histoire d'un siècle de Byzance (976–1077)*, ed. E. Renauld (Paris, 1928, repr. 1967), ii. 18 (bk. 6, ch. 104): αἴρουσαν ἐπ' ἀσπίδος; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae*, i. 434: ὑψώσαντες; Theophanes, *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883), 260: καὶ ἐπὶ ἀσπίδος τοῦτον ὑψώσαντες εὐφήμεσαν ἑξαρχον. See also Ostrogorsky, 'Zur Kaiseralbung und Schilderhebung', 253; C. Walter, 'Raising on a Shield in Byzantine Iconography', *REB* 33 (1975), 159; H. Teitler, 'Raising on a Shield: Origin and Afterlife of a Coronation Ceremony', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 8 (2002), 509–12.

⁵² Ostrogorsky, 'Zur Kaiseralbung und Schilderhebung', 254.

⁵³ Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, 68.

⁵⁴ Vat. gr. 1851. This piece of information was provided by Maria Parani and Michael Jeffreys, who are currently engaged in research on this manuscript and intend to publish in the near future evidence proving that the figure depicted in the illuminations should be identified with the emperor Manuel II Komnenos.

⁵⁵ Walter, 'Raising on a Shield', 133–75; Teitler, 'Raising on a Shield', 501–21. See also V. Tsamakda, *The Illustrated Chronicle of Ioannes Skylitzes in Madrid* (Leiden, 2002), 280–1 and figs. 3 and 544.

Of course, the accession in Byzantium of a new ruler had been only one of the many state occasions celebrated with considerable pomp. Of these, some marked events that distinguished the reign of a particular individual, such as a marriage, the birth of a child, or a military victory; others, however, belonged to a regular annual calendar of ceremonies and processions which either took place within the imperial palaces, or in the streets and churches of Constantinople.⁵⁶ Indeed, although the act of the coronation itself in the imperial capital had, by the period of the Komnenoi, come to be considered central to the beginning of each reign, as is apparent from the insistence of Manuel I Komnenos, who had already, in distant Cilicia, received a crown from his father on the latter's deathbed, that he return to Constantinople and be crowned again in the Church of the Holy Wisdom, it was the subsequent ritualized passage by each ruler through the spaces of the city on a regular basis in the following months and years which acted as a confirmation of the legitimacy of imperial authority.⁵⁷ Thus, in order to remain qualified to wield power, the ruler of the Byzantine Empire had to acknowledge the need for the constant performance of these repeated acts of display. Not unlike 'some wolf or tiger spreading his scent through his territory', he was obliged to make the landscape his own by repeatedly marking it with his presence.⁵⁸

It should be stressed that, after the crusader conquest, the emperor and his entourage continued to participate in processions to mark the feast-days of the saints or other anniversaries traditional to the city, as is apparent from the conduct of Henry of Flanders, who can be glimpsed in one contemporary narrative receiving news of an important political development just as he was preparing to set out in the procession to the Church of Our Lady of Blachernai to mark the anniversary of the Purification of the Virgin.⁵⁹ This would seem to suggest that the desire on the part of Baldwin I and his successors to preserve imperial ceremonial extended beyond the coronation itself to other public appearances made by them.

2. THE COURT HIERARCHY

Such meticulously organized and choreographed events relied, for their staging, upon the existence of a flourishing and highly regulated court which

⁵⁶ Dagron, *Emperor and Priest*, 84–114.

⁵⁷ John Kinnamos, *Epitome*, 28, 33; Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, i. 46, 52; P. Charanis, 'Coronation and its Constitutional Significance in the Later Roman Empire', *B* 15 (1940–41), 49–66, and esp. 61; Dagron, *Emperor and Priest*, 113.

⁵⁸ C. Geertz, 'Centers, Kings and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power', in J. Ben-David and T. Clarke (ed.), *Culture and its Creators: Essays in Honor of Edward Shils* (Chicago, 1977), 150–71.

⁵⁹ Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ch. 411, discussed in Hendrickx, 'Le Pouvoir impérial (l'empereur, les régents, l'impératrice)', 123.

would add lustre to the occasion. Under the Byzantines, it had been customary for each individual of the elite to be assigned a dignity which defined his relationship to the emperor and designated his place within the general hierarchy. Lists, sometimes called *kletorologia* and drawn up for banquets, survive which were intended for use by masters of ceremonies; these not only enumerate the titulature of different courtiers, but describe the finely gradated order of precedence accorded to them.⁶⁰ An indication that this type of court culture may have continued to some degree to be fostered after the crusader conquest is provided by the fact that, of those titles and offices which it had previously been the emperor's habit to assign to prominent individuals, a number remained in employment.

The title of *despot* was received, for example, in 1204 by the Doge of Venice, Enrico Dandolo,⁶¹ and continued after his death, as is apparent from a series of documents dating from 1219, 1220, 1223, and 1238, to be used by the men who acted in Constantinople as his successors' representative or *podestà*. Indeed, it can be found attributed in turn to Jacopo Teopolo, Marino Storlato, and Alberto Mauroceno:

nobilissimo domino Ja[coby] Teupulo, de mandato tocius altissimi Ducis Venecie Potestate Venetorum in R[omania] et Despote Imperij Romanie et quarte partis et dimidie eius Imperij uice sui dominatore (lord Jacopo Teopolo, sent by the mandate of the most eminent Doge of Venice as *podestà* of the Venetians in R[omania] and despot of the Empire of Romania and lord in vicarship of a quarter and an eighth of the Empire)

Hoc a nobis iurato nobilis vir Jacobus Teupulus, Potestas Venetorum et Despotus Imperij (the noble lord Jacopo Teopolo, *podestà* of the Venetians and Despot of the Empire)

Jacobus Theupulo, de mandato suo Potestas in Constantinopoli et Despotis Imperii Romaniae, ejusdemque Imperii quartae partis et dimidia vice sui domninator, suus subditus et fidelis (Jacopo Teopolo, by the mandate granted to him *podestà* in Constantinople and Despot of the Empire of Romania, lord in vicarship of a quarter and an eighth of the Empire)

Nos Jacobus Teupulo, de mandato altissimi, fortissimi atque potentissimi domini mei, Ducis Venecie, Potestas in R[omania] et despotis Imperij R[omanie] ejusdemque Imperij quarte partis et dimidie uice sui dominator (Jacopo Teopolo, by the mandate of my most eminent, most powerful and mighty master, the Doge of Venice, *podestà* in R[omania] and despot of the Empire of R[omanie], lord in vicarship of a quarter and an eighth of the Empire)

Marinus Storlatus, de mandato preclarissimi domini Ducis Venecie Potestas in Constantinopoli et despotis, Imperii Romanie ejusdemque Imperii quarte partis et dimidie

⁶⁰ N. Oikonomides, *Les Listes de préséance Byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles* (Paris, 1972).

⁶¹ George Akropolites, *Opera*, ed. A. Heisenberg, corr. P. Wirth (Stuttgart, 1978), i, ch. 8.

uice sui dominator (Marino Storlato, by the mandate of the most eminent master, the Doge of Venice, podestà in Constantinople and despot of the Empire of Romania, lord in vicarship of a quarter and an eighth of the Empire)

dominum Albertinum Maurocenum, dilectum nostrum, de mandato incliti Ducis Venetiae Potestatem Constant. et Despotam dicti Imperij Romaniae, ejusdemque Imperij quartai partis et dimidae vice sui dominatorem (lord Alberto Mauroceno... by the mandate of the most gracious Doge of Venice, podestà of Constantinople and despot of the aforesaid Empire of Romania, lord in vicarship of a quarter and an eighth of the Empire).⁶²

The same title of *despot* is also attested as having been conferred in 1209 on Alexios Sthlavos, a ruler of the Bulgars, on the occasion of the arrangement of his marriage to an illegitimate daughter of the reigning emperor.⁶³ Conon de Bethune was in 1204 and 1205 referred to as *protovestarius* within imperial acts by the emperors Baldwin I and Henry ('Conone de Betunia, protouestiario Imperij': Conon de Bethune, protovestiarius of the Empire); some years later, in 1219, during his tenure as regent of the empire, he was styled with the even more elevated title of *sevastokrator* ('Nos C[onon] de Beth[unia], Seuastocrator et Baiulus Imperij Romanie': C[onon] de Beth[une], *sevastokrator* and *bailli* of the Empire of Romania).⁶⁴ The rank of *caesar*, for its part, was granted by the emperor Henry in 1206, together with the lordship of Adrianople, to Theodore Vranas, following the marriage of this magnate to Agnès de France, while that of *megas doux* was also given in 1206 or 1207, together with the lordship of Lemnos, to Navigaios Philokalos, following the latter's recognition of imperial sovereignty.⁶⁵

Such terminology echoed titulature that had, for the most part, become established in Byzantium a century before the arrival of the crusaders. The titles of *despot* and *sevastokrator*, for example, which were derived from

⁶² *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante vom neunten bis zum Ausgang des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*, ed. G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas (Vienna, 1856-7; repr. Amsterdam, 1964), iii. 205-6, 214, 216, 221, 253-4, 346-7.

⁶³ George Akropolites, *Opera*, i, ch. 24; B. Hendrickx, 'The Main Problems of the History of the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204-1261)', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 52 (1974), 789; idem, 'Les Institutions de l'empire latin de Constantinople (1204-1261): la cour et les dignitaires', *Byzantina*, 9 (1977), 206-8.

⁶⁴ *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, i. 574; iii. 214-5; Hendrickx, 'Main Problems', 789; idem, 'La Cour et les dignitaires', 208 and 210-11; J. Longnon, *Les Compagnons de Villehardouin* (Geneva, 1978), 147; Lock, 'Latin Emperors as Heirs to Byzantium', 298-9.

⁶⁵ *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, ii. 3 and 19; C. H. F. J. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes* (Brussels, 1966), 179; *The Chronicle of Morea*, ed. J. Schmitt (London, 1904), vv. 1322, 5231, 5417; Longnon, *L'Empire latin de Constantinople*, 169; Hendrickx, 'Main Problems', 788; idem, 'La Cour et les dignitaires', 208-10; Lock, 'Latin Emperors as Heirs to Byzantium', 299. In at least one of these instances, the appointment may have been considered a hereditary one, for we find the grandson of Vranas, Philippe de Toucy, being designated in the same manner as his grandfather.

epithets originally restricted solely to the person of the emperor, had been adopted by Alexios I Komnenos, and then continued to be used by his descendants, in order to designate the status of the individuals who respectively held the second-highest and third-highest dignities after the emperor's own. That of *megas doux* was also of similar date, since John Doukas, the brother-in-law of Alexios I, can be identified as its first recorded holder.⁶⁶ It would appear that these ranks continued to denote especially high status under the new regime, if one is to judge from the identity of the individuals who held them after the Fourth Crusade. Moreover, as had been true in the late eleventh century onwards, when extensive changes had been made to the structure of the imperial court, leading to a greater association of distinction with kinship to the ruling dynasty, and consequently transforming governance into a sort of clan enterprise, eminent titulature after the conquest was often accompanied by strong familial ties with the emperor. Under the Komnenoi and the Angeloi, included among the *despots* had been a brother and a brother-in-law of Alexios I, as well as two brothers-in-law and one son-in-law of Manuel I; among the *sevastokratores* a brother of Alexios I, a number of sons of Alexios I and John II, two brothers-in-law of Manuel I, and an uncle of Isaac II and Alexios III; and among the *caesars* a brother-in-law, son and son-in-law of Alexios I, and a brother-in-law of Manuel I.⁶⁷ Similarly, Conon de Bethune was a close blood-relation of Baldwin I, while not only Alexios Sthlavos but also Theodore Vranas became imperial kinsmen by affinity as a result of the marriage alliances contracted by them.⁶⁸ Indeed, the treatment of Sthlavos by Henry, and that ruler's integration into the extended family of foreign princes and clients can be argued to conform to general notions outlined already in the tenth century by the *Book of Ceremonies* of a hierarchy of states ruled by individuals referred to as the 'brothers', 'sons', and 'friends' of the emperor.⁶⁹ Beyond that, its particulars also recalled the precedent which had been set with regard to Bela, the ambitious claimant to the Hungarian throne who had been betrothed to the daughter of Manuel I and awarded the title of *despot*.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ See <http://www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw/apps> (consulted May 2008).

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* The new sigillographical evidence presented there has thrown into question the conclusions concerning the title of *despot* reached in R. Guiland, 'Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'empire byzantine: le despote, δεσπότης', *REB* 17 (1959), 52–89.

⁶⁸ See N. Oikonomides, 'Title and Income at the Byzantine Court', H. Maguire (ed.), *Court Culture from 829 to 1204* (Washington, DC, 1997), 199; *idem*, 'L'Évolution de l'organisation administrative de l'empire byzantin au XI^e siècle (1025–1118)', *TM* 6 (1976), 181; P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180* (Cambridge, 1993), 180–2.

⁶⁹ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Cerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae*, ii. 689; A. Grabar, 'God and the Family of Princes Presided over by the Byzantine Emperor', *Harvard Slavic Studies*, 2 (1954), 117–23.

⁷⁰ A further distinction may already have been made in this period between those *despots* who were related to the imperial family by blood or marriage and those who were not, with the former

Admittedly, there are signs that, for specific titles or offices, a Byzantine name could sometimes have been understood simply as a direct equivalent of a western one, and used interchangeably with it. Thus, in 1219, Gautier de Coutrai, who was referred to either as 'clerk' or as 'chancellor of the illustrious Baldwin, Emperor of Constantinople', also seems to have been known in some contexts by the title of *protonotarios*.⁷¹ The terms *megas domestikos* and *megas konostaulos*, too, may have been employed alongside those of *seneschal* and *grand constable*, depending upon context, in order to designate individuals.⁷² Although much of our evidence here comes from later narrative sources, at least one observer contemporary to the Fourth Crusade did not find it odd or inaccurate to state that, following the sack of Constantinople, a particular individual, Geoffroy de Villehardouin the Elder, held 'the dignity of marshal—the dignity, in other words, which in the Greek tongue is called that of *protostrator*'.⁷³ Yet, while notional overlap, where it existed, must have been welcome to the crusaders, the phenomenon of the appropriation of eastern titulature was not limited to an attempt, based on rather superficial equivalencies, to translate imported concepts into indigenous terminology. Thus, *podestà* and *despot* were not considered in the documents to be synonyms,⁷⁴ but rather represented separate facets of the power and status belonging to their holder; nor is there any evidence that those of *bailli* and *sevastokrator* were understood as counterparts of one another. It would seem that many Byzantine titles were prized by the conquerors because of what these titles represented in their own terms.

It may be suggested that the borrowings of titles and offices from the era of the Komnenoi and the Angeloi which occurred came as part and parcel of the preservation of a carefully structured pre-existing system of court protocol. There is some cause, certainly, to believe that this derivative titulature was not used by the crusaders merely in the case of the foremost dignities, but continued to be employed in order to define with precision in the established

taking precedence. The evidence for the existence of this distinction comes, however, from a late source. See Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 133.

⁷¹ *De Oorkonden der Graven van Vlaanderen*, ii, nos. 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 286; Innocent III, *Innocentius III Pontifex Romanus*, ed. J.-P. Migne, ii, *PL* 215 (Paris, 1855), Col. 946B (bk. 9, no. 126); B. Hendrickx, 'Les Institutions de l'empire latin de Constantinople (1204-1261): la chancellerie', *Acta Classica*, 19 (1976), 125.

⁷² *The Chronicle of Morea*, vv. 163, 1106, 2606; Hendrickx, 'La Cour et les dignitaires', 196–200. Note that the first use of *konostavlos* in Greek sources dates to the 12th cent.

⁷³ Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, i. 600; Hendrickx, 'La Cour et les dignitaires', 200–3. Choniates was, of course, writing outside the territory occupied by the crusaders, and may simply have adopted the terminology that came most naturally to him.

⁷⁴ Although it has been argued that the two words are linked etymologically, there is in fact no evidence that *podestà* is a derivation from *despotes*. Moreover, contemporaries seeking a straight translation of *despotes* would have been more likely to render it as *dominus* rather than as *potestas*.

manner the relationship between individuals throughout an elaborate and far-reaching hierarchy. The discovery in the nineteenth century in Constantinople of a gold ring bearing the legend '+ S'BERTRANI BESTIARII' argues for the possibility of the continued appointment, following the crusader conquest, of individuals to the relatively lowly rank of *vestiarios*, which originated as the designation used for the assistant keepers of the imperial wardrobe but may have come by the twelfth century to refer to officials who staffed the central treasury.⁷⁵ At the very least, a late medieval chronological framework has been proposed for the ring, because of its outward appearance, while the language of the inscription and the personal name mentioned point to ownership by someone of western origin.⁷⁶ In conformity with the other examples of titulature under consideration here, this particular title was one of those in use during the Komnenian period, being held, for instance, in the mid-twelfth century, by one Epiphanius, 'the most distinguished *vestiarios* of the family of Artabasdos', as is demonstrated by the metrical inscription on the seal belonging to that individual.⁷⁷

3. DOCUMENTS AND COINAGE

Outside the immediate environment of the imperial court and the imperial city, one of the main ways members of the dynasty founded by Baldwin I could hope to represent their authority in situations that did not involve the physical presence of their own persons was through their writ. Although some of the content of just under 300 separate charters and other acts can be deduced from indirect attestation, the full text of the documents concerned can only be accessed in a handful of cases, while rarer still are examples of the originals

⁷⁵ G. Schlumberger *et al.*, *Sigillographie de l'Orient latin* (Paris, 1943), 203; Hendrickx, 'La Cour et les dignitaires', 211; M. Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile* (Oxford, 1975), 204; A. Failler, 'L'Éparque de l'armée et le bestiariou', *REB* 45 (1987), 199–203. Much depends here on whether *vestiarios* was a synonym of *o vestiariou*.

⁷⁶ This evidence, however, needs to be treated with a certain amount of caution, given that the find was made at a time when a precise archaeological context could not yet be furnished. Moreover, the current location of the item itself, which had entered a private collection, is unfortunately no longer known, a circumstance that precludes further study. The title of *vestiarios* is first recorded on seals in the 7th cent., and may therefore have been introduced during a period when Latin, previously the official language of imperial titulature, was gradually falling into disuse but had not disappeared completely. With regard to whether the title is that of *vestiarios* or *bestiarios*, it should be noted that, while the latter refers to a real occupation, this occupation was in fact that of the lowliest participants—often convicted criminals—in public games where fighting with animals formed part of the spectacle. The notion that such a person could afford an elaborate gold ring would seem unconvincing.

⁷⁷ See <http://www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw/apps> (consulted May 2008).

themselves.⁷⁸ This notwithstanding, such material as does exist displays a series of features of great interest. Of note is the evidence provided in the texts regarding the location at which the main activities of the staff of the imperial chancery took place, for this can be identified as the palace complex in the north-west of Constantinople which the Komnenoi had built as their primary residence, and from where that dynasty had been accustomed to conduct most of its everyday business of government (e.g. 'Dated in our Palace of Blachernai, in the month of February of the year of Our Lord 1205').⁷⁹ A closer examination of the top and bottom of the texts also reveals that the crusader emperors modelled their titles upon Byzantine precedents, dated their documents according to the Byzantine calendar, and even signed them personally in Greek using cinnabar ink.

Baldwin I is to be found, in the opening of his acts, styling himself as 'Balduinus, Dei gratia fidelissimus in Christo imperator, a Deo coronatus, Romanorum moderator et semper augustus, Flandrie et Hayn[onie] Comes' (Baldwin, by the grace of God most faithful emperor in Christ, crowned by God, ruler of the Romans and always august, count of Flanders and the Hainault).⁸⁰ It was a formula employed practically without change in the reigns of Henry, Peter of Courtenay and Yolanda, Robert of Courtenay, and even Baldwin II.⁸¹ The main development to occur over time was the removal of the clause referring to Flanders and the Hainault, and the transformation of the reading 'of the Romans', which specified the identity of the people ruled, into 'of Romania', which referred rather to the territory. Even in the later cases, however, it is often impossible to determine exactly which word, 'Romanorum' or 'Romanie', is meant because, owing to the increasingly well-

⁷⁸ B. Hendrickx, *Régestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople, 1204–1261/1272* (Salonica, 1988). What evidence we do have is heavily skewed, for instead of being concerned with the routine management of domestic affairs, it consists mainly of extraordinary correspondence of a foreign or diplomatic nature, and therefore, as was to be expected given its target audience, survives exclusively in Latin and French translations and redactions.

⁷⁹ *De Oorkonden der Graven van Vlaanderen*, ii, no. 280, also nos. 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 274; see also nos. 275, 283, 284, 285, 288, 290; J. Longnon, 'Notes sur la diplomatique de l'empire latin de Constantinople', *Mélanges dédiés à la mémoire de Félix Grat* (Paris, 1946–9), ii, 4; Hendrickx, 'Le Pouvoir impérial (l'empereur, les régents, l'impératrice)', 130–1.

⁸¹ 'Henricus, Dei gratia, fidelissimus in Christo Imperator, a Deo coronatus, Romanorum moderator et semper augustus'; 'Nos, P[etrus], Dei gratia fidelissimus in Christo Constantino-politanus imperator a Deo coronatus, R[omanie] moderator et semper augustus' and 'Nos, Yolens, eius uxor, eadem gratia imperatrix'; 'Nos, Robertus, Dei gratia fidelissimus in Christo imperator, a Deo coronatus Romanie moderator et semper augustus'; 'Nos, Baldwin, par la grace de Dieu très feiaus empereres en Christ, de Dieu coronez, gouverners de Romanie et toz tens accroissant'. *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, ii, 194, 227, 253, 255; J.-A. Buchon, *Recherches et matériaux pour servir à une histoire de la domination française aux XIII^e, XIV^e et XV^e siècles dans les provinces démembrées de l'empire grec à la suite de la quatrième croisade* (Paris, 1840), i, 28; ii, 153 n. 2; ii, 210–12 n. 2; Longnon, 'Notes sur la diplomatique', 4–5; Hendrickx, 'Le Pouvoir impérial (L'empereur, les régents, l'impératrice)', 132–3.

established nature of the title, the shorthand 'R.' or 'Rom.' makes its appearance together with other abbreviations. Although the titulature adopted here does bear a resemblance to that used by Frederick I Barbarossa in the mid-twelfth century, and may ultimately trace its origins back to German models (e.g. 'Frederi(cus) Dei gratia Romanoru(m) imperator aug(ustu)s': Frederick by the grace of God august emperor of the Romans),⁸² it can be argued to be more immediately indebted to the turn of phrase preferred in their diplomatic correspondence by the Byzantine dynasty of the Angeloi, with which the crusaders would have become familiar from the numerous documents issued in Latin by Isaac II, Alexios III, and Alexios IV in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Thus, attested in 1187 are 'Ysaakius in Christo deo fidelis Imperator et moderator Romanorum Angelus', 'Isakius in Christo deo fidelis Imperator et moderator Romanorum Angelus', 'Isaakius in Christo deo fidelis Imperator et moderator Romanorum Angelus', and 'Ysachius in Christo deo fidelis Imperator et moderator Romanoru(m) Angelus' (Isaac Angelos, faithful emperor in Christ God and ruler of the Romans), while from 1199 there survives 'Alexius in Christo deo fidelis Imperator et moderator Romanorum, Comnanus' (Alexios Komnenos, faithful emperor in Christ God and ruler of the Romans) and from 1203 'Alexius, fidelis in Christo Imperator, a deo coronatus Romanorum moderator et semper augustus' (Alexios, faithful emperor in Christ, crowned by God, ruler of the Romans and always augustus).⁸³

The documents' subscripts can similarly be shown to have replicated the *menologia* previously used by the Byzantines, which were written in large characters immediately after the last word of the main text, to prevent falsification or forgery, and consisted of the month and indiction year, calculated in the Constantinopolitan manner, followed by a cross.⁸⁴ We have, from the reign of Baldwin I, for example, 'μηνὶ μαρτ[ίῳ] ἰνδ[ικτιῶνος] ἡ' + ' ('on the month of March in the eighth indiction'), and from that of Baldwin II 'μηνὶ ἰουν[ίῳ] ἰνδικτιῶνος] ε' + ' ('on the month of June in the fifth indiction').⁸⁵ Significantly, although it was Greek that was used for these subscripts, they continued for the most part to be penned personally by the ruler, as had been the case prior to the conquest. The one exception was that of Baldwin I, where at least five separate hands sign his documents, a circumstance attributable to

⁸² www.vatican.va/library_archives/vat_secret_archives/collections/documents/vsa_doc_27012000_feder1_it.html (consulted May 2008); also, for a variant, see Otto of Freising, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, 17.

⁸³ *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, i. 189, 195, 203, 211, 278, 426; Longnon, 'Notes sur la diplomatie', 4; Hendrickx, 'Le Pouvoir impérial (l'empereur, les régents, l'impératrice)', 135–6. These titles were translations and elaborations of the formula used by the Komnenians: ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ θεῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων.

⁸⁴ Longnon, 'Notes sur la diplomatie', 7.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 6, 8–9 and pl. I; Hendrickx, 'La Chancellerie', 131.

this man's total illiteracy, which indeed was hardly a secret, as the comment by Philippe de Mousquet demonstrates: 'But the count, it is well known, / Had absolutely no knowledge of letters.'⁸⁶ By contrast, statements made by four witnesses to a treaty in 1205 describe Henry as having himself signed the document in question with the indiction year 'in ruby letters' in order to ratify it.⁸⁷ A subscript of the empress Marie, produced during her regency for her young son, is far too hesitant and unskilled to be that of a professional scribe, and could easily be an example of an imperial autograph by a woman who came late in life to the task.⁸⁸ Baldwin II, too, seems to have been responsible for tracing his own subscripts, since one and the same signatory can be identified in documents from the beginning of that emperor's reign, and from his last years in exile over twenty years later.⁸⁹ If this is correct, then Baldwin II, unlike his mother, was at ease with Greek, for the handwriting in question is a skilled and well-proportioned cursive.⁹⁰ This was perhaps to be expected, given that this emperor, the last of the crusaders to rule in Constantinople, had been born and bred there, and may consequently not only have learnt the native language as his first spoken language but also acquired some considerable proficiency in the written form. It is revealing that, during one visit abroad early in his reign, the powers of expression he displayed in French were considered by native speakers to be infantile.⁹¹ One wonders if, as a result of a lack of adequate exposure, Baldwin II had difficulty speaking his ancestral tongue, possessing the childlike vocabulary, imperfect grasp of grammar, and halting diction which can be shown to be often typical of language acquisition in second-generation immigrants.⁹²

As was true of the content of these documents, the seals appended to them also emulated Byzantine practice in many respects. Such *bullae* as are either still *in situ* or otherwise attested to, can be shown, as had been the case in Byzantium since at least the eighth century, to have usually been made out of lead or gold.⁹³ They were inscribed in the reign of Baldwin I on the obverse in

⁸⁶ *Chronique rimée de Philippe Mouskes*, ed. Baron de Reiffenberg (Brussels, 1836–8), ii, vv. 24735–6.

⁸⁷ *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, i. 574; Hendrick, 'La Chancellerie', 129–30.

⁸⁸ Longnon, 'Notes sur la diplomatie', 8, item 2.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 9, items 3 and 4.

⁹⁰ Longnon, 'L'Empereur latin de Constantinople', 178.

⁹¹ *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, ed. N. de Wailly (Paris, 1876), 225.

⁹² For studies on the subject of acculturation and language use by modern immigrant communities and other bilinguals, see U. Weinreich, *Languages in Contact* (The Hague, 1979) and F. Grosjean, *Life with Two Languages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982).

⁹³ Longnon, 'Notes sur la diplomatie', 12. Wax seals also survive, but these, without exception, belong to Baldwin II, and may have been issued in periods when he was in the west; in any case, there are some indications, admittedly of late date, that Byzantine emperors may themselves have employed wax seals when writing to members of their immediate family (see Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 175).

Greek with a legend referring to the ruler with one of the traditional imperial titles, that of *despot* ('+ ΒΑΛΔΟΒΙΝΟC. ΔΕCΠΟΤΗC'), and imitating the inscription used by Alexios III Angelos after his accession ('ΑΛΕΞΙΟC ΔΕCΠΟΤΗC').⁹⁴ Accompanying this, and still on the same side of the seal, was an image that depicted the emperor in majesty, wearing on his head a closed crown of the type that been favoured in the Byzantine Empire ever since its introduction there by Alexios I Komnenos. Apart from its shape, which was like a semi-spherical cap, and its adornment with pearls and gemstones, distinctive features of this piece of headgear were the cross that surmounted it, and the pair of *prependoulia* or *ormathoi*, which were lappets of pendant pearls and gems attached to the lower rim and hanging down from either side of the temples onto the cheeks.⁹⁵ The presence on the crown of Baldwin I of these pendants may be connected to the fact that a diadem shorn of them was considered in Byzantium to be an evil omen. A passage in a tenth-century dream book written for an emperor, possibly Leo VI, known as the *Oneirocriticon* attributed to Achmet ibn Sirin interpreted dreams featuring such an occurrence as presaging calamity for both monarch and state. Thus, the dream book declared: 'If the emperor dreams that the pendants of his crown have been cut off, his reign will be disorderly and short-lived.'⁹⁶

Imperial portraits that were not dissimilar to this would be engraved on *bullae* throughout the period of crusader domination. In the reign of Henry, the inscriptions on the seals contain, in addition to the term *despot*, that of *autokrator* as well (e.g. 'ΕΡΡΙΚΟC. ΔΕCΠΟΤΗC: HENRY DESPOT; + ΕΡ(ΡΙΚΟC ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ(ΙΚΑΙ ΔΕC)ΠΟΤΗC ΚΩΠΟΛ': HENRY AUTOKRATOR AND DESPOT OF CONSTANTINOPLE).⁹⁷ Another variant of the same titulature is found on the seals of the emperor Baldwin II, with the term *porphyrogenitus* being in addition included, a reference to birth in the *porphyra*, a special chamber alluded to in sources from the tenth century onwards as being traditionally used by empresses for their lying-in within the Great Palace. Thus, the reverse reads: 'ΒΑΛΔΥΙΝΟC ΔΕCΠΟΤΗC (ΙΤΟΡ)ΦΙΡΟΓΕΝΝΗΤΟC Ο ΦΛΑΝΔΡΑC' (BALDWIN OF FLANDERS, DESPOT PORPHYROGENNITUS).⁹⁸ The terms used here echo those on seals issued by Manuel I and Alexios II Komnenos:

⁹⁴ Schlumberger *et al.*, *Sigillographie de l'Orient latin*, 165; *De Oorkonden der Graven van Vlaanderen*, i. 476; R. Chalon, 'Trois bulles d'or des empereurs belges de Constantinople', *Revue de numismatique belge* (1861), 384; Longnon, 'Notes sur la diplomatie', 12; Hendrickx, 'Le Pouvoir impérial (l'empereur, les régents, l'impératrice)', 130–1. The reproductions at the present author's disposal are of insufficient photographic quality for the details of the crown to be visible, but scholars who have had access to the original material are adamant regarding its characteristics.

⁹⁵ Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, 95; Parani, *Reconstructing*, pl. 20.

⁹⁶ *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, ed. F. Drexler (Leipzig, 1925), 202. For a discussion of authorship and patronage of the text, see M. Mavroudi, *A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation: The 'Oneirocriticon' of Achmet and its Arabic Sources* (Leiden, 2002), 32–40 and 59–62.

⁹⁷ Schlumberger *et al.*, *Sigillographie de l'Orient latin*, 168; Longnon, 'Notes sur la diplomatie', 12; Hendrickx, 'Le Pouvoir impérial (l'empereur, les régents, l'impératrice)', 131–2.

⁹⁸ Schlumberger *et al.*, *Sigillographie de l'Orient latin*, 169–73; Longnon, 'Notes sur la diplomatie', 12–13; Hendrickx, 'Le Pouvoir impérial (l'empereur, les régents, l'impératrice)', 133.

‘ΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ ΔΕCΠΟΤΗC Ο ΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΓΕΝΝΗΤΟC: MANUEL, DESPOT PORPHYROGENNITUS; ΑΛΕΞΙΩ ΜΕΓΑΛΩ ΒΑCΙΛΕΙ ΤΩ ΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΓΕΝΝΗΤΩ’: ALEXIOS GREAT BASILEUS AND PORPHYROGENNITUS).⁹⁹ Even more remarkably, the legend on the seal of Baldwin II replicates in accurate fashion the tortured Greek syntax of the wording of other twelfth-century imperial seals, where the first name and patronymic are separated by the titles possessed by the individual (e.g. ‘ΙCΑΑΚΙΟC ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC Ο ΑΓΓΕΛΟC’: ISAAC ANGELOS, BASILEUS; ‘ΑΛΕΞΙΟC ΔΕCΠΟΤΗC Ο ΑΓΓΕΛΟC: ALEXIOS ANGELOS, DESPOT; ‘ΑΛΕΞΙΟC ΔΕCΠΟΤΗC Ο ΚΟΜΝΕΝΟC’: ALEXIOS KOMNENOS, DESPOT), a dislocation also evident in the inscriptions associated with imperial portraits of the same period (e.g. ‘+ ΙΩΑΝΝΗCΕΝ Χ(ΠΙCΤ)Ω ΤΩ Θ(Ε)Ω ΠΙCΤΟC ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΓΕΝΝΗΤΟC ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ Ο ΚΟΜΝΗΝΟC +’: JOHN KOMNENOS, MOST FAITHFUL BASILEUS IN CHRIST, PORPHYROGENNITUS AND AUTOKRATOR OF THE ROMANS).¹⁰⁰

A function comparable to that of the production of the documents was performed by the creation and release of easily accessible objects whose outward appearance emphasized by multiple means the existence of connections between the old regime and the new. The monetary system which came into effect after the conquest began by keeping in circulation such coinage as was already in use, and then, in due course, supplemented this by the production of new issues which, however, so closely copied, both in their fabric and iconography, the coins struck in Byzantium from the late eleventh century to the early thirteenth, as to be indistinguishable from them unless a detailed examination of the mint markings was undertaken. Although actual examples of these imitative issues are limited today only to finds of petty coin corresponding to the billon aspron trachy or histamenon (an alloy of silver with tin, copper, or another base metal) and to the copper tetarteron and half-tetarteron, the possibility should not be dismissed that an equivalent to the gold hyperpyron was also struck: the late thirteenth-century mercantile treatise by the Florentine Francesco Pegolotti, which gives information regarding the conversion of different currencies, includes an entry for ‘Latin hyperpyra of gold at 16½ carats pure’ which it illustrates by means of a drawing of the obverse of the piece in question.¹⁰¹ This suggests that the entire range of earlier denominations could have been copied and put into circulation by the crusaders. The

⁹⁹ See <http://www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw/apps> (consulted May 2008).

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.; F. Dölger, ‘Die Entwicklung der byzantinischen Kaiser-Titulatur und die Datierung von Kaiserdarstellungen in der byzantinischen Kleinkunst’, repr. in his *Byzantinische Diplomatie* (Speyer am Rhein, 1956), 150; Parani, *Reconstructing*, pl. 20.

¹⁰¹ Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, ed. A. Evans (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), 287–9, with general comments in P. Grierson, ‘The Coin List of Pegolotti’, *Studi in Onore di Armando Saporì* (Milan, 1957), i. 485–92; A. M. Stahl, ‘Coinage and Money in the Latin Empire of Constantinople’, *DOP* 55 (2001), 199–200.

resulting issues were used throughout the Latin Empire as ordinary legal tender for all sorts of everyday transactions involving persons of diverse social standing, as is demonstrated by the plentiful billon and copper examples showing up on excavations in the Peloponnese and Attica,¹⁰² while the higher denominations may also have had some standing within the international market for precious metals. A record of the purchase of different types of coinage in gold and silver, together with bullion, by the French treasury in 1250 for the purpose of sending funds to Alphonse de Poitiers, the brother of Louis IX, in Egypt, includes quantities of a coin which has been tentatively identified with the imitative *hyperpyron*.¹⁰³

The coins seem to have been produced in the imperial *chrysepseteion* or mint, which was probably, like its twelfth-century predecessor, housed in the Great Palace, and appears, on the basis of references in contemporary sources, to have been still functioning as late as the year 1259.¹⁰⁴ The legends they bear give the impression of continuity in minting practices, for the die-sinkers who were responsible for engraving the designs appear not merely to have been in the habit of including inscriptions in Greek which contained the words 'ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ' (DESPOT) or 'ΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΓΕΝΝΗΤΟΣ' (PORPHYROGENNITUS), but would also reproduce in legible fashion the names of dead emperors, notably of those who had been members of the Komnenian dynasty. Two of a group of three issues linked to Constantinople can, for example, be shown to have the name of Manuel I Komnenos on them.¹⁰⁵

4. SHOW OR SUBSTANCE: INTERPRETING THE EVIDENCE

How is one to explain this evidence of continuity between, on the one hand, the representation of emperors in the twelfth century, and, on the other, that

¹⁰² K. M. Edwards, 'Report on the Coins Found in the Excavations at Corinth during the Years 1930-1935', *Hesperia*, 6 (1937), 250; M. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora*, ii. *Coins from the Roman through the Venetian Period* (Princeton, 1954), 74-5; D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage in South-Eastern Europe, 820-1396* (London, 1979), 237-43.

¹⁰³ Stahl, 'Coinage and Money', 200.

¹⁰⁴ George Akropolites, *Opera*, i, ch. 78, commented upon in George Akropolites, *The History*, tr. R. Macrides (Oxford, 2007), 353-4 n. 10; M. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy, c.300-1450* (Cambridge, 1985), 259-120, 389-90. Although the issue of whether primary control of the mint was held by officers of the Latin emperor or of the Venetian *podestà* remains debated by scholarship, the striking by the emperor of imperial-style coinage in fact squares well with other evidence, such as that derived from sigillography, regarding the iconographic preferences and ideological preoccupations of Baldwin I and his successors.

¹⁰⁵ Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, 209.

of emperors in the first half of the thirteenth century? The initial impetus for the collection of phenomena outlined above can be shown to have come, to some extent, from the erstwhile subjects of the Byzantine Empire. These subjects, after all, were excessively familiar with a specific type of imperial imagery, which was, as we have already seen, ubiquitous in twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Byzantium. Certainly, in the very early days of the crusader conquest and occupation, a particular pattern of behaviour can be identified as having arisen spontaneously from within the indigenous population as it sought to make sense of events which were still in the process of unfolding. Thus, as a contemporary, Gunther von Pairis, informs us, immediately following the capture of Constantinople, its inhabitants tried to curry favour with Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, then still at the head of the Crusade, by holding up their fingers in the sign of a cross, and pronouncing him to be their 'sacred *basileus*'.¹⁰⁶ What is more, as other sources reveal, the venture, within a few months, of the newly crowned Baldwin I into the hinterland of the imperial capital seems to have taken the form of a series of ceremonial entries into the major cities of Macedonia and Thrace, such as had always characterized the *adventus* either of a *basileus* or his consort.¹⁰⁷ Some years later, after the succession of Baldwin's brother Henry, similar scenes played themselves out in Thessaly, Boeotia, and Euboea on the first occasion of an imperial visit to the south. At Almyro, for instance, citizens making their way in procession, and bearing icons and pronouncing acclamations or *polychronia*, are said to have come out from their city to meet the emperor, while at Thebes, the *polychronia* shouted by a throng of Greek notables ('alcontes') and clergymen ('papas'), together with the sounding of cymbals, drums, and trumpets, are said to have made such a noise that 'the very earth seemed to shake'.¹⁰⁸ Again and again, recourse appears to have been had to the vocabulary and gestures which had been employed as a matter of routine in Byzantium in the twelfth century when giving expression to the relationship between a ruler and his people.

The crusader emperors should not, even so, be viewed simply as having responded to these overtures in a haphazard and rather opportunistic manner, while continuing to remain ignorant of the deeper ideological significance of the actions in which they involved themselves. Conceivably, Baldwin I could have been invested with the particular coronation robes he wore because there was not sufficient time to undertake the embroidery of a new set of regalia of appropriate sumptuousness, a fact that would have meant that whatever was at hand had to be used. Needing to meet certain financial obligations, moreover,

¹⁰⁶ Gunther von Pairis, *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, ch. 18.

¹⁰⁷ Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, i. 597–8; Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, chs. 272–4.

¹⁰⁸ Henri de Valenciennes, *Histoire de l'empereur Henri de Constantinople*, chs. 663, 671; see also ch. 683.

but without access to a suitably qualified engraver, the same emperor or his successors might easily have found themselves striking coinage using pre-existing dies. Such explanations, however, cannot fully account for the very substantial preservation of the titles, rituals, and visual symbols of the Komnenoi and the Angeloi. There are indications of a genuine aspiration on the part of the new regime to appropriate a specific heritage.¹⁰⁹

After the conquest of 1204, when the Byzantine emperor Alexios III Angelos, who had earlier deposed Isaac II, only then himself to flee, was finally caught up with and divested of his insignia, the receipt of these was greeted by Baldwin I with clear expressions of delight.¹¹⁰ The same Baldwin, moreover, did not shrink from referring to Constantinople as the 'New Rome'.¹¹¹ Similarly, Baldwin's brother, Henry, writing a letter in 1206 to another sibling of theirs, Godfrey, celebrated the 'glory and honour' that had come to their family, declaring that 'God has by a miracle given us the Roman Empire'.¹¹² In another missive, dated to 1212 or 1213, indeed, Henry gave vent to his indignation at the claims to the imperial title made by his neighbours and enemies Theodore Laskaris and Boril of Bulgaria.¹¹³ On campaign, Henry would wear a purple cloak, sit on a throne at meal-times, and even surround himself with imperial attributes on the very battlefield, including an imperial standard.¹¹⁴ His envoys, sent in 1209 to negotiate with Michael of Epirus, one of the organizers of resistance against the crusaders, pointedly greeted that leader 'on behalf of the emperor'.¹¹⁵ This pattern continued to be maintained over the years, into the reign of Baldwin II, whose own embassy, apparently dispatched in 1259 to demand the return of territory, was viewed negatively by Michael VIII Palaiologos precisely because Baldwin, in the words of one contemporary historian and militant supporter of Palaiologos, 'was ruling'

¹⁰⁹ It is worth noting that the pact of Mar. 1204, which was drafted in the crusader camp on the eve of the conquest of the city and can, in a sense, be considered to be the constitutional document defining western rule over Byzantine territory, did not set out to create a new state. Indeed, the provisions of the pact make it clear that the emperor to be elected was intended to be seen as the legitimate successor of Isaac II Angelos and his dethroned and murdered son Alexios IV. Thus, references are made first to the previous ruler and then, in the same breath and using the same terminology, to the new one who needed to be appointed. *De Oorkonden der Graven van Vlanderen*, ii, no. 267; F. Van Tricht, 'La Gloire de l'empire: L'Idée impériale de Henri de Flandre-Hainaut, deuxième empereur latin de Constantinople (1206-1216)', *B 70* (2000), 212-3.

¹¹⁰ Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ch. 309.

¹¹¹ *De Oorkonden der Graven van Vlanderen*, ii, no. 271; discussed in Hendrickx, 'Le Pouvoir impérial (l'empereur, les régents, l'impératrice)', 108.

¹¹² *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, xviii, ed. M. J. Brial (Paris, 1822), 527.

¹¹³ G. Prinzing, 'Der Brief Kaiser Heinrichs von Konstantinopel vom 13. Januar 1212: Überlieferungsgeschichte, Neuedition und Kommentar', *B 43* (1973), 395-431.

¹¹⁴ Henri de Valenciennes, *Histoire de l'empereur Henri de Constantinople*, chs. 521, 525, 533, 541, 650.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, ch. 691.

in Constantinople 'supposedly as emperor'.¹¹⁶ We would appear to be dealing with a deliberate and sustained policy that was maintained by successive rulers in Constantinople for over half a century.

This is not to deny that fundamental changes took place in the wake of the Fourth Crusade. It would be disingenuous, for instance, for us to ignore the introduction into the rituals surrounding the imperial accession of features which were western in origin, and reflected contemporary practices of what at around this period would come to be referred to as the Holy Roman Empire. As was, at least in theory, the case in the Holy Roman Empire, Baldwin's own imperial inauguration followed a decision-making process involving extensive deliberations by an electoral committee of twelve men.¹¹⁷ The ritual of unction, moreover, was carried out on him in a manner that entailed the anointing not of the head alone, but also of the body, as was typical of western coronation rite.¹¹⁸ Finally, the group of insignia which Baldwin is described as having received upon his enthronement lacked one object considered important in eastern tradition, while conversely including another that does not appear to have normally been used: instead of the *akakia*, which were a scroll- or pouch-shaped bundle of cloth, our source refers to a 'golden apple', namely to an orb or *globus*.¹¹⁹ Such influence, indeed, should scarcely surprise us, given that Baldwin of Flanders had himself, prior to taking the cross and ruling in Constantinople, been brought up as a vassal of the German emperor, owing fealty for his lands of Hainault and Namur.¹²⁰

The political resonance of these borrowings, however, was very different to that which accompanied the employment of elements native to Constantinople and Byzantium. Although Baldwin, as Count of Flanders and Hainault, had initially supported Otto of Brunswick against Philip of Swabia, and thus been involved in the competition over the succession in Germany which had followed the death, in 1197, of Henry VI, the son of Frederick Barbarossa,

¹¹⁶ George Akropolites, *Opera*, i, ch. 78.

¹¹⁷ Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, chs. 93–95; Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, chs. 256–60.

¹¹⁸ Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ch. 96; Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des Offices*, 258.

¹¹⁹ Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ch. 97; *DOC*, iii/i. 131–3; P. E. Schramm, *Sphaira, Globus, Reichsapfel* (Stuttgart, 1958), 24–7; Parani, *Reconstructing*, 33–4. The last Byzantine depiction of the orb—other than in coinage—is found on the *tondo* thought to represent John II Komnenos, but it has been argued that this is a conventional representation which did not reflect contemporary usage. It cannot be ruled out that Baldwin in fact held not a *globus*, but the *akakia*, and that the western observer who is our main narrative source simply made a mistake owing to the similarity of shape between the two objects.

¹²⁰ R. L. Wolff, 'Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut, First Latin Emperor of Constantinople: His Life, Death, and Resurrection, 1172–1225', *Speculum*, 27 (1952), 282; J. C. Moore, 'Count Baldwin IX of Flanders, Philip Augustus and the Papal Power', *Speculum*, 37 (1962), 79. Note, however, that Baldwin never succeeded in gaining full control of Namur, despite the fact that he had been invested with the marquise by the German Emperor.

he appears to have used his departure on crusade as an opportunity to disentangle himself from this struggle.¹²¹ Neither Baldwin himself, following his accession in Constantinople, nor indeed his successors, can be shown either to have made a personal bid for the German crown, or even to have had a hint of ambitions leaning in that direction. Nothing equivalent, for instance, to the expressions of outrage with which Baldwin's brother Henry targeted those neighbouring rulers in the east who called themselves 'emperors' can be identified as having been issued by the same individual against those persons who claimed the western imperial title. On the contrary, the tenor of diplomatic relations between Henry of Constantinople and Philip of Swabia indicates that the former viewed the latter as a respected equal rather than as a rival or potential usurper of his own prerogatives and honours. In his exchanges with Philip, Henry seems, perhaps echoing other marriage negotiations which had been undertaken by his Byzantine predecessor Isaac II Angelos some years earlier, to have sought to present relations between the two empires as one between two major powers whose lengthy history and equivalent elevated status meant that a marital alliance between their respective rulers represented an appropriate proposal.¹²²

There were undeniable advantages to be gained from modifying native traditions. By using an idiom which was recognizably eastern but which also had non-eastern elements incorporated into it, Baldwin I and his successors could cash in on the prestige traditionally enjoyed by the Byzantine Empire as a land of fabulous wealth and technological marvels, while at the same time creating a picture of their reigns that was, in a sense, international, and, by that very fact, could be more easily exported. The maintenance by the emperors of some link at least with their old homelands would have been facilitated by this internationalization, opening up the possibility of drawing upon support from that quarter when needed. Certainly, many of the physical media used by the crusader emperors for their own self-promotion could have had an impact upon audiences beyond those of the territories over which the emperors themselves exercised concrete control. Yet, even so, the primary target of the propaganda disseminated by the new regime would have remained not the world at large, nor even former compatriots, but those whom that regime wanted to turn into its own loyal subjects. Shortly after mounting the throne, Baldwin I circulated a letter in which he expressed the joy he had felt when witnessing what he described as a public display of approval by 'the Greeks'.¹²³ Other texts written by the conquerors also insist upon episodes that might be interpreted as indicating the recognition by the local people of

¹²¹ Wolff, 'Baldwin of Flanders', 283; Moore, 'Count Baldwin IX of Flanders', 79.

¹²² Van Tricht, 'La Gloire de l'empire', 226-7. Whether Philip of Swabia was willing to see the situation in the same light is less certain.

¹²³ *De Oorkonden der Graven von Vlanderen*, ii, no. 271.

the new regime's incontrovertible right to rule. Thus, de Clari, in his narrative of the crusade and its immediate aftermath, comments that, although an attempt to challenge the authority of Baldwin I was made by one of the other crusader leaders, who put forward as an imperial candidate first himself and then, having failed in that ambition, his young stepson, Manuel Angelos, the local inhabitants were not persuaded by these developments but preferred to hold steadfast in their loyalty to Baldwin, whom they had already recognized as emperor. 'Have the child Manuel crowned in Constantinople first', the citizens of Adrianople are alleged by de Clari to have replied from the fortified walls of their city, 'and once he is seated on the Throne of Constantine, then we too will know our duty'.¹²⁴ Similarly, de Valenciennes, who composed an account of the deeds of the second crusader emperor, writes of the acknowledgement, during one particularly hard winter, when the temperatures reached well below freezing, by 'the Greeks' of the fulfilment by Henry of a prophecy that was circulating among them which foretold of an emperor who could cross the great Maritsa or Hebron River without getting himself or his men wet, and would thereafter prosper and enjoy a lengthy reign.¹²⁵ Passages such as these reveal a desire to convey the message that neither the foreign origin of the new rulers, nor the political crisis which had catapulted them into power, was considered to cast doubt on the validity of their imperial status.

Of course, such a picture of the acknowledgement of the Latin emperors of Constantinople by the indigenous population is a picture of successful legitimation presented by Latin sources. This raises certain questions. How far should the image of relations between conquerors and conquered given in these sources be trusted? Were the Latins, in penning their accounts of the conquest, seeking to mislead their audiences or, alternatively, perhaps even deluding themselves? Did the local inhabitants of Constantinople and its hinterland, as well as of the former provinces of the Byzantine Empire, really respond positively to the new regime's attempts to articulate a highly naturalized discourse of power and authority? Did they respond at all? Certainly, the dynasty founded by Baldwin I could hardly afford to be complacent. A statement issued early on after the conquest of 1204 by a group claiming to represent those under occupation had emphasized in a forthright manner the might that could be wielded by their fellow-countrymen should they decide not to accept the yoke that had been imposed upon them. 'Without us', it warned, 'the threshing floor would not be filled with grain, nor the wine vat with grapes; bread will not be eaten, nor meat, nor fish, nor vegetables. Human life and society would not survive.'¹²⁶ In the initial aftermath of the conquest undertaken by the crusaders, indeed, there were rebellions. The

¹²⁴ Robert de Clari, *Conquête de Constantinople*, ch. 101.

¹²⁵ Henri de Valenciennes, *Histoire de l'empereur Henri de Constantinople*, ch. 567.

¹²⁶ *Ecclesiae Graecae Monumenta*, iii, ed. J. B. Cotelerius (Paris, 1686), 516.

'Greeks' soon 'began to hate the Latins', Geoffroy de Villehardouin noted, and 'bear them ill-will'.¹²⁷ In the early spring of 1205, simmering discontent turned to outright violence when the inhabitants of Didymoteichon killed or captured all the Latins stationed there; shortly afterwards, the people of Adrianople similarly turned on the Latin garrison in their city, forcing them to flee.¹²⁸ Reports of these and of other similar events started to pour into Constantinople on a daily basis, indicating that the 'Greeks were rising up everywhere'.¹²⁹ Deeply concerned and distressed by such behaviour, the crusader emperors responded by putting down all insurrections swiftly and ruthlessly. At Aspros, in 1206, for instance, while a parley was being held between the besieged rebels and imperial representatives, part of the imperial army entered the town from the other side by stealth and began to sack the city, making off with booty.¹³⁰ However, terrorizing the indigenous population in this way, while effective in dealing with the immediate crisis, could not constitute a long-term solution. The negative impact on hearts and minds of pacification by such ruthless means was observed at Adrianople where attempts by the emperor Henry to get the city's inhabitants to forsake their rebellion and open their gates to him were met with the reply that credence could not be given to 'oaths sworn by the Latins'.¹³¹ Seen against a prevailing atmosphere of insecurity, where the threat of armed resistance and revolt by the conquered was never far off in actuality, the decision on the part of the crusader emperors to wear red buskins, to sign official acts in the native Greek language, and to make themselves one with the traditional ceremonial landscape of the capital city of the Byzantine Empire made a great deal of sense, for outward concessions of this type were a means not only of reassuring the conquered, but also of securing their cooperation.

Nonetheless, although no first-person accounts written within the occupied lands have survived describing what it felt like to be an native inhabitant of the Latin Empire of Constantinople in either the early years after the conquest or later decades,¹³² there are reasons for suggesting that the new dynasty did secure some sort of recognition from their subjects and from neighbouring regimes. After the first two years, there is no evidence that rebellions

¹²⁷ Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ch. 303.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, ch. 336.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, chs. 390–1.

¹³¹ Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, i. 622.

¹³² The only material by a Greek author that may shed light on the situation in Constantinople is the text by Mesarites, cited above, which, however, was written by Mesarites after he had left for Nicaea. For southern Greece and the Peloponnese, the letters of Michael Choniates, Metropolitan of Athens, are also of interest, although these are always tailored with their recipients in mind, and present a fragmentary and incomplete picture. See Michael Choniates, *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae*, ed. F. Kolovou, CFHB 41 (Berlin, 2001) and T. Shawcross, 'The Lost Generation (c. 1204–c. 1222): Political Allegiance and Local Interests in the Crusader Lands', in J. Herrin and G. Saint-Guillain (eds.), *The Eastern Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 2011), 9–46.

originated among the indigenous population, despite the small army at the emperors' disposal, and the very substantial military and political ambitions of their neighbours both in the Balkans and in Asia Minor.¹³³ This is surely telling. It may be significant that two important witnesses writing in Greek from outside the Latin sphere of influence also seem to some extent to have acknowledged the imperial title of Baldwin I and his successors, at least in the early years of their hegemony. These two witnesses, based in the Laskarid Empire of Nicaea, were Niketas Choniates and George Akropolites; the latter, it should be recalled, was born in Constantinople under crusader rule while his father had served the dynasty of Baldwin I in an administrative capacity.¹³⁴ In addition, the reign of the emperor Henry was celebrated in an anonymous folk song composed in Greek in the early thirteenth century, most probably in the regions of Macedonia or Thrace.¹³⁵

Needless to say, acceptance of foreign domination by those who had been conquered is unlikely to be attributable solely to the adoption by the new regime of a discourse of power and authority that was native to the region. The role of words and gestures should not be underestimated, but these words and gestures were also backed up by concrete actions. Characteristic of the new regime was the offer to the locals of material concessions, including the grant of privileges and immunities. Shortly after his coronation as the first crusader emperor in the spring of 1205, Baldwin I, having received the peaceful surrender of Thessalonica, delivered to its inhabitants a charter confirming that city in all 'the customary privileges' it had enjoyed 'under the Greek emperors'.¹³⁶ Once the rebellions of the winter of 1205 and 1206 had been stamped out, Baldwin's eventual successor, Henry, seems in his dealings with the indigenous population to have been even more predisposed than his brother to implement a form of government that was highly conciliatory towards those conquered by him and his fellow crusaders. Certainly, Henry can be shown to have comported himself in an enlightened fashion with respect to two fundamental aspects of Byzantine society: religion and the law. When, in 1214, a papal legate was dispatched with the intention of bending the local population to the dictates of Rome by introducing measures of a rather extreme nature, such as the closure of churches observing eastern rite, and the imprisonment of monks and clergy, the emperor intervened and had these plans withdrawn.¹³⁷ On another occasion when papal representatives

¹³³ Greeks, did however, participate in the so-called Lombard Revolt, fighting on the side of the crusader barons who challenged the emperor. See Henri de Valenciennes, *Histoire de l'empereur Henri de Constantinople*, ch. 677.

¹³⁴ Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, i. 598, 599, 614, 615, 618, 620, 625, 632; George Akropolites, *Opera*, i. 101; G. Page, *Being Byzantine* (Cambridge, 2008), 79, 100–2.

¹³⁵ M. Manoussacas, 'Τὸ ἐλληνικὸ δημοτικὸ τραγούδι γιὰ τὸν Βασιλιά 'Ερρίκο τῆς Φλάντρας', *Λαογραφία*, 14 (1952), 3–52.

¹³⁶ Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, i. 599; Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ch. 280.

¹³⁷ George Akropolites, *Opera*, i, ch. 17.

expelled Greek monks from their monastery, the emperor reinstated them, granting the community a charter that guaranteed it would enjoy his protection and no longer be subject to outside interference.¹³⁸ Similarly, elements of local law continued to be observed, with the application of the principles of male primogeniture and indivisibility being rejected in the case of lands 'held in the manner of the Greeks', and equal partition and the right of both sons and daughters to inherit being upheld instead.¹³⁹ The pre-existing state of affairs also appears to a large extent to have been maintained under Henry with respect to at least one part of the administration of the Byzantine Empire—its fiscal system.¹⁴⁰ For instance, although the emperor made the payment of church tithes obligatory for Latins, he refused to impose such levies on Greeks, acknowledging that this form of taxation was alien to the region.¹⁴¹ More generally, both Latin and Greek sources state that Henry, once he had succeeded to the throne, took great care to avoid conduct that might annoy or alienate the indigenous population, instead numbering many of the locals 'among the barons of his realm, accepting others into his service as knights, and, finally, treating the common multitude as his own beloved people'.¹⁴²

A number of local individuals and groups are known to have joined forces with the new regime. One particularly striking case is that of Theodore Vranas. Shortly after the conquest, Vranas was granted three key cities to govern 'according to the customs of the Greeks'.¹⁴³ He was subsequently responsible for maintaining the loyalty of Thrace while the main body of the army returned to Constantinople for the coronation of the emperor Henry. He remained a supporter of the crusader emperors for the rest of his days, marrying his daughter to an important westerner and holder of the office of

¹³⁸ Hendrickx, *Régestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople*, 88 (item 125) and 89–90 (item 127).

¹³⁹ *Les Assises de Romanie*, ed. G. Recoura (Paris, 1930), articles 138 and 194. While the story that Baldwin I obtained a book of 'custom and assizes' from the Holy Land is false, the composition of certain elements of the law code that evolved into the *Assises of Romanie* is likely to have been begun at an early date, almost certainly before 1217, for it is in that year that a document from the Negroponte cites 'the customs of the Empire of Romanie'. For a discussion of the dating of the *Assises*, and comments on their content, see J. L. La Monte, 'Review' of *Les Assises de Romanie*, ed. G. Recoura (Paris, 1930), *Speculum*, 7 (1932), 289–94; P. Topping, 'The Formation of the Assises of Romanie', *B 17* (1944–5), 304–14; D. Jacoby, *La Féodalité en Grèce médiévale* (Paris, 1971).

¹⁴⁰ Similar survival of a pre-existing fiscal system can be observed in the Crusader States that were established over a century earlier in Syria and Palestine. See J. Riley-Smith, 'The Survival in Latin Palestine of Muslim Administration', in P. M. Holt (ed.), *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades* (Warminster, 1977), 9–22.

¹⁴¹ R. L. Wolff, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople, 1204–1261', *A History of the Crusades*, gen. ed. K. Setton (Madison, Wis., 1969–90), ii, 199; repr. in his *Studies in the Latin Empire of Constantinople* (London, 1976), no. I.

¹⁴² Henri de Valenciennes, *Histoire de l'empereur Henri de Constantinople*, ch. 566; George Akropolites, *Opera*, i, ch. 16.

¹⁴³ *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, ii, 17–19.

imperial *bailli*; descendants of this couple of mixed ethnicity would continue under the Latins to hold important posts at court for several generations.¹⁴⁴ Other collaborators included George Theophilopoulos and, lower down on the social scale, Michael Kostomyres.¹⁴⁵ Sizeable contingents of Greeks participated in campaigns where they fought alongside Latins. Thus, during Henry's reign, the citizens of Adrianople carried out both garrison and field duties for the new regime,¹⁴⁶ while the citizens of Lendiana and Poimenon formed special fighting units under their own commanders within the imperial army.¹⁴⁷ Support for the crusaders is, moreover, attested in non-military contexts. Locals acted as interpreters and counsellors.¹⁴⁸ Indeed, in the reign of Baldwin II their presence at court had become so marked that it caused considerable disquiet back in the old homelands of the crusaders, notably in France. A letter was sent from Paris to Constantinople complaining that the crusader emperors had gone too far in adapting to the circumstances of their new environment, and were showing signs of assimilating completely with the natives, whose counsel they preferred over that of men of their own race.¹⁴⁹ Occasional remonstrations of this type from the more conservative elements in the mother country were, however, probably considered by the crusader regime in Constantinople to be a price well worth paying for the integration of members of the pre-existing Byzantine elites into the conquering regime, and ultimately for the quiescence of the regional populations that formed the client base of these elites and were consequently within their sphere of influence. The risks courted in the case of less flexible policies can be seen elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean, where evidence relating to the Hagiostefanites and Kallergis revolts on Venetian Crete suggests that multiple, ongoing rebellions had to be faced as long as there was a failure on the part of westerners to come to terms with powerful local agents.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁴ Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, chs. 403, 422–3, 441; Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, i. 642, 646, 'Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium', 870, 881, 885, 939, 947.

¹⁴⁵ George Akropolites, *Opera*, i, ch. 16; Hendrickx, *Régestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople*, 91 (item 130); *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, ii. 19.

¹⁴⁶ Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, chs. 273, 281, 381, 403, 413, 422–3, 461, 471, 498; Henri de Valenciennes, *Histoire*, ch. 549.

¹⁴⁷ George Akropolites, *Opera*, i, chs. 16–17.

¹⁴⁸ Hendrickx, *Régestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople*, 82 (item 116); *The Chronicle of Morea*, vv. 1649, 1831–3; N. Oikonomides, 'La Décomposition de l'empire byzantin à la veille de 1204 et les origines de l'empire de Nicée: A propos de la *Partitio Romaniae*', in *XV^e Congrès international des études byzantines: Rapports*, i. *Histoire*/3 (Athens, 1976), 3–28; Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, 48.

¹⁴⁹ Honorius III, *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, ed. P. Presutti (Rome, 1888–95), ii. 250–1.

¹⁵⁰ S. Borsari, *Il dominio veneziano a Creta nel XIII secolo* (Naples, 1966), 27–66, and, for a slightly later period, S. McKee, *Uncommon Dominion* (Philadelphia, 2000), 132–67.

Not only the image, therefore, but also the practice of rulership which the crusader emperors associated with themselves, reveal a strong continuity between the previous imperial regime and their own. Perhaps even more importantly, the use of a repertoire of symbols and rituals indebted to the Angeloi and, to an even greater extent, the more celebrated dynasty of the Komnenoi, indicates that the political culture of the Byzantine Empire had a durable quality even during periods of fissure and fragmentation. Indeed, Baldwin I and his successors were by no means the only ones who attempted in the thirteenth century to legitimize their conquests and establish their authority through claims to be preserving and reinvigorating the traditions of the Byzantine Empire that had fallen into decay under weak and ineffective rulers.¹⁵¹ When Michael VIII Palaiologos assumed the name of 'Komnenos', and claimed to be a 'New Constantine' refounding 'New Rome',¹⁵² he was not attempting something strikingly different to the crusader emperors whom he ousted; on the contrary, he was emulating those emperors. After all, when processing through the streets of Constantinople and receiving a coronation in the Church of the Holy Wisdom, Michael VIII could not avoid tracing the exact route that Baldwin I had already taken half a century before. Moreover, just as the insignia of the fleeing Alexios III had been sent to the victorious Baldwin I, so too were the insignia of Baldwin II received in turn by Michael VIII, himself a conqueror. Among these insignia appears to have been a magnificent heirloom—a great ruby.¹⁵³ Before ending up in the possession of Michael VIII, this gemstone had belonged to Manuel I, to Baldwin I, and to Baldwin II. One is hard put to imagine a more potent symbol of the persistence of tradition in the eastern Mediterranean across the twelfth and thirteenth centuries than this small object, this bauble, that an unbroken succession of emperors reigning in Constantinople had held in the palm of their hand.¹⁵⁴

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¹⁵¹ See the chapters by Georganteli, Kastritsis and Wright in this vol.

¹⁵² R. Macrides, 'The New Constantine and the New Constantinople', *BMGS* 6 (1980), 13–41; eadem, 'From the Komnenoi to the Palaeologoi: Imperial Models in Decline and Exile', in P. Magdalino (ed.), *New Constantines* (Aldershot, 1994), 269–82. See also the chapter by Shepard in the present vol.

¹⁵³ Wolff, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople', 231.

¹⁵⁴ Only subsequently, in an act almost of *translatio imperii*, would the ruby travel first to the Iberian Peninsula, and then to the British Isles, where it ended up being incorporated into the insignia of latter-day emperors and empresses. It is now housed in the Tower of London.

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Conquest and Political Legitimation in the Early Ottoman Empire

Dimitris Kastritsis

The Ottomans were the power that unified the fragmented late medieval eastern Mediterranean world into a strong, centralized, early modern empire. However, the Ottoman Empire began its life on a much more modest scale, and was born out of the very fragmentation that it finally succeeded in eliminating. Contrary to a still common stereotype, the Ottomans were not a horde of nomads sweeping across Asia into Europe—in fact, they created their empire far more slowly than did the Arabs or the Mongols, and did so not by overrunning their enemies, but by exploiting their divisions and adapting to the local circumstances of their expanding borders. It is not surprising, then, that the resulting Ottoman civilization was of a complex nature, a fact recognized by some of the Ottomans themselves. In the words of the late sixteenth-century Ottoman intellectual Mustafa Âli:

Most of the inhabitants of Rum are of confused ethnic origins. Among its notables there are few whose lineage does not go back to a convert to Islam . . . either on their father or their mother's side, the genealogy is traced to a filthy infidel. It is as if two different species of fruitbearing tree mingled and mated, with leaves and fruit; and the fruit of this union was large and filled with liquid, like a princely pearl. The best qualities of the progenitors were then manifested and gave distinction, either in physical beauty, or in spiritual wisdom.¹

While the above passage shows that the empire's complexity was still appreciated in the late sixteenth century, it had not been not without its problems. Already from the late fourteenth century, a conflict had emerged between elements committed to preserving in some form the borderland civilization into which the Ottoman polity had been born, and others interested in a more

¹ Mustafa Âli, *Künh ül-Ahbar*, tr. excerpt from C. H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton, 1986), 254.

centralized imperial model, as this had developed in the classical Islamic period based on ancient near eastern principles.

Little is known about the first half century of Ottoman history, except that the emirate of Osman began its existence around 1300 as one of several Turkish principalities (emirates, *beyliks*) in Anatolia born out of the weakening of Seljuk power there following the Mongol victory at Kösedağ (1243).² When the Ottomans first appeared, they were by no means the most important of these, but by conquering the harbour town of Gallipoli in 1354, they became the first to establish themselves permanently on the European side of the straits separating Asia from Europe. Using first Gallipoli and then Edirne (Adrianople) as a launching point, they carried out extensive raids into the Balkans which led to the conquest of the peninsula for Islam. With raiding (*gaza*, *akın*) came great wealth and prestige, which allowed the Ottomans gradually to gain an edge over their Turkish rivals in Asia Minor. In the century that followed, despite some setbacks, the most important being the near-catastrophic defeat by the Central Asian empire-builder Timur (Tamerlane) in 1402, the Ottomans were able to expand symmetrically in both the Balkans and Anatolia, so that by the second half of the fifteenth century they had created an empire whose territory was roughly equal to that of Byzantium in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Most of the remaining pockets of resistance, notably the *beylik* of Karaman and the city of Constantinople at the empire's centre, were eliminated by Mehmed II 'the Conqueror' (1451–81), the ruler generally credited with the establishment of the 'classical' Ottoman Empire and its institutions.³

As suggested already, the Ottoman Empire of Mehmed the Conqueror was a 'Roman' empire, namely one whose territory more or less coincided with that of Byzantium at its apogee before the Turkish invasion of the late eleventh century.⁴ While it can be argued that the Ottomans continued to think of these 'Roman' lands (*Rum*) as the core of their empire well into the nineteenth century (when the Balkans (*Rumeli*) were gradually lost to newly created nation-states), under Mehmed's heirs in the sixteenth its territory was doubled in extent, and came to include also two-thirds of Hungary, most of the Arab world from Iraq to Algeria, and parts of Kurdistan and the Caucasus. The rule of the Ottoman Sultan was recognized in such great Islamic centres as Cairo, Damascus, and Baghdad, as well as in the holy cities of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem, while in Europe he competed with the universal imperialist claims

² The broadest and most critical introduction to the historical problem of Ottoman origins is C. Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds* (Berkeley Calif., 1995).

³ On Mehmed's reign, see F. Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time* (Princeton, 1978).

⁴ The standard work on the transformation of Asia Minor in the wake of the Seljuk conquest of the Middle East is still S. Vryonis, jun., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the XIth through the XVth Century* (Berkeley Calif., 1971).

of the Habsburgs.⁵ In the north, the Mongol Khans of the Crimea, direct descendants of Chingiz Khan, became Ottoman vassals. The great geographic expansion that took place after 1500 resulted in a very different Ottoman Empire from that of the fifteenth century, and it continued to evolve in the seventeenth century and beyond in response to new social and political circumstances. Nevertheless, the roots of a distinctive Ottoman political culture and identity can be traced back to the period before the conquest of Constantinople, as witnessed by the fact that Ottoman chroniclers and intellectuals down to the nineteenth century often referred back to those early times.⁶

Many modern historians have presented the early Ottoman Empire as a state bent on conquest, a society whose *raison d'être* was war. While there is a lively and at times heated debate about whether the motivation behind this warfare was religious (the expansion of Islam) or materialistic (the capture of plunder and slaves), few have questioned the presentation of the Ottomans as a great war-machine, whose countless hordes would have swept across Europe had they not been stopped at the walls of Vienna (1529) or crushed in the great naval battle of Lepanto (1571). While it is certainly true that military organization and conquest played a central role in Ottoman society well into the seventeenth century, it would be as grave an error to reduce the entirety of Ottoman civilization to warfare as would be the case for the Roman Empire, which had a similar military orientation. Moreover, until the invention of the modern army in the eighteenth century, the Ottoman Empire's military was comparable in size and technology to those of other European powers, and quite different from the nomadic armies of the Mongols and their successors in Central Asia. If there is one area in which the Ottomans in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were ahead of their European rivals, it is the financial and administrative centralization of warfare; but this alone did not make them a 'gunpowder empire' committed totally to the waging of war, as has been suggested.⁷ As far as nomadism is concerned, it is worth noting that in their

⁵ On a particularly striking manifestation of this competition, see G. Necipoğlu, 'Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Habsburg-Papal Rivalry', *Art Bulletin*, 71 (1989), 401-27.

⁶ Among the Ottoman historians drawn to the first century of Ottoman history are Aşıkpaşazade (late 15th cent.), Feridun Bey (who compiled a massive chancery manual in the late 16th cent. containing many letters attributed to the first sultans, generally spurious) and several late Ottomans such as Namık Kemal and Ahmet Refik. See Aşıkpaşazade, *Die altosmanische Chronik des Aşıkpaşazāde*, ed. F. Giese (Leipzig, 1929); Feridun Bey, *Münşe'ât üs-Selātīn* (Istanbul, 1848-9); Namık Kemal, *'Osmānlı Tārīhi* (Istanbul, 1326/1908-9); Ahmet Refik, *Küçük Tārīhi 'Osmānlı* (Istanbul, 1330/1912-13). It has been argued by C. Imber that the Ottoman preoccupation with a 'mythical' early period is a later ideological construction; however there are strong indications that at least some of this material can be traced back at least to the early 15th cent.: see Imber, 'The Ottoman Dynastic Myth', *Turcica*, 19 (1987), 7-27; D. Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid* (Leiden, 2007), 32-8.

⁷ Such myths are dispelled by R. Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare 1500-1700* (London, 1999), esp. 1-35, 185-92. The author shows that, despite the Ottomans' centralization and the fact that

earliest chronicles the Ottomans defined themselves in opposition to 'Tatars', 'Turkmens', and other nomads, a trend that would become stronger as they came up against rivals to the east with a nomadic power-base, especially Timur (Tamerlane) and the Akkoyunlu in the fifteenth century, and the Safavids beginning in the sixteenth. Contrary to those powers, which may have governed largely sedentary populations but at least tried to live up to the nomadic ideals of their ruling elite, the Ottomans generally followed policies hostile to nomads, such as excessive taxation of flocks, which made a nomadic livelihood next to impossible.⁸

The great success of the early Ottomans can be attributed not so much to numbers and military organization as to their ability to take advantage of the fragmented political landscape in which they were operating by making alliances and incorporating indigenous elements.⁹ In this manner they were able to emerge by the end of the fourteenth century as the main power-brokers both in the Balkans and in Anatolia. This flexible aspect of their political culture has led some to assert that they could not possibly have been serious about Islam—how could they have been, it is argued, when they were accompanied on their raiding expeditions by local Christian leaders, apparently motivated by material gain? This point of view will be addressed in more detail in a moment. For now, it is sufficient to affirm that by the turn of the fifteenth century if not sooner, military expansion in the name of Islam was already a key element in Ottoman self-representation. During this time, the Ottomans were able to present themselves convincingly as an expanding 'empire of the *gazis*' (raiders) engaged in the conquest of new territory for Islam.¹⁰ Even after they started losing territory in Europe with the treaty of Karlowitz (1699), possession of the central lands of Islam including the holy sites of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem still allowed them to claim the extremely prestigious title of 'servitor of the two holy sites' (*hadim al-harameyn*). As a consequence of this role, which implied protection of the annual Hajj pilgrimage, the Ottomans made ambitious plans in the second half of the sixteenth century for both a Suez canal and one connecting the Don and Volga rivers (both projects abandoned in their early stages) while military aid was sent to

they had the first standing army in Europe, much of the warfare they engaged in was of a local nature. It was difficult to mobilize armies over large distances, making such mass mobilizations a rare event.

⁸ R. P. Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia* (Bloomington, Ind., 1983), 51–66.

⁹ H. İnalcık, 'Ottoman Methods of Conquest', *Studia Islamica*, 2 (1954), 103–29.

¹⁰ The last significant Ottoman conquest was the island of Crete, the last outpost of Venice in the eastern Mediterranean (1645–69). The term 'empire of the *gazis*' is taken from the title of the first volume of Stanford Shaw's 2-vol. survey of Ottoman history: S. J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* (Cambridge, 1976–7).

the Sultan of Aceh in Indonesia against the Portuguese.¹¹ Moreover, in the sixteenth century the Ottomans began to define themselves as staunch Sunnis in opposition to their main Muslim rivals, the Shii Safavids and their successors in Iran, with whom they contested such ideologically important Iraqi cities as Baghdad (seat of the Abbasid caliphs before its sack by the Mongols in 1258) and the Shii holy sites of Karbala and Najaf in Iraq.

While there is little doubt that the Ottomans were presenting themselves in this way from the sixteenth century onwards, the question of political legitimation in the preceding period is more controversial. The main controversy stems from a debate surrounding some of the ideas of Paul Wittek, a philologist and founding father of modern Ottoman studies. Indeed, since it is impossible to discuss the character and self-representation of the early Ottoman state without reference to this controversy, it may be appropriate to discuss it here briefly before moving on to a broader exposition of Ottoman ideology and self-representation. This discussion will also provide an introduction to some of the sources on the period, since as we will see the controversy stems from their interpretation.

1. THE WITTEK CONTROVERSY AND THE CHARACTER OF THE EARLY OTTOMAN STATE

In a series of lectures given in London in 1937 and published under the title *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, Wittek laid the foundations of what has come to be known as the 'gaza thesis' of early Ottoman history.¹² Put in the most basic terms, Wittek's theory states that the Ottoman Empire owed its very existence to raiding (*gaza*). This raiding was the driving force behind Ottoman expansion, but also gave rise to internal conflict as the venture of the *gazis* developed into an empire with a central administration. The opposition of an egalitarian frontier populated by raiders and holy men and a centralized hinterland administered by viziers and *ulema* (learned classes) forms part and parcel of Wittek's theory of early Ottoman history. Under Wittek's successors, especially Halil İnalcık, the opposition was rephrased in more

¹¹ W. E. D. Allen, *Problems of Turkish Power in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1963); G. Casale, "'His Majesty's Servant Lutfi': The Career of a Previously Unknown Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Envoy to Sumatra Based on an Account of his Travels from the Topkapı Palace Archives', *Turcica*, 37 (2005), 43–81; A. Reid, 'Sixteenth-Century Turkish Influence in Western Indonesia', *Journal of South East Asian History*, 10 (1969), 395–414. For a bibliography on the Don-Volga canal, see G. Veinstein, 'Sokollu Mehmed Pasha', *Et*, ix, 709.

¹² P. Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1938); see also Wittek's related article 'De la défaite d'Ankara à la prise de Constantinople', *Revue des Études Islamiques*, 12 (1938), 1–34.

social scientific terms as one between centralizing and decentralizing elements. İnalçık's centralization thesis has become the predominant grand narrative of Ottoman history, used to describe not only the early period of the empire's existence, but also its subsequent development down to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹³

In order to evaluate the Wittek–İnalçık theory it is necessary to take a closer look at the character of the early Ottoman state and the people living within it. What must be stated outright is that our sources on the fourteenth century are extremely scarce. The earliest Ottoman administrative records date from the reign of Murad II (1421–51) and are nowhere near as complete as those from the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹⁴ Narrative sources begin a little earlier, but not for certain until the turn of the fifteenth century. Thus much of the controversy over Wittek's ideas centres on his interpretation of some very meagre evidence (an inscription and an epic poem) to argue that, as far back as the fourteenth century, the Ottomans thought of themselves as *gazis*.¹⁵ Wittek's critics have cast doubt on his use of this evidence, arguing that any notion of the early Ottoman sultans as *gazis* fighting in the name of Islam is a fiction of late fifteenth-century Ottoman authors who wanted to provide the dynasty with the legitimacy of a long-standing commitment to holy war. An argument often made is that the early Ottoman raiders were motivated not by Islam but by a desire for material gain in the form of plunder. In fact, what we know of religious syncretism in medieval Anatolia suggests that at this time 'Islam' was not so easy to define—this point will be developed further in a moment. Finally, there is no reason why religious and materialistic motives could not have coexisted even in the same person, as in the case of many western Christians who went on Crusade.

Such questions aside, what appears certain is that when the quasi-mythical founder of the Ottoman dynasty, a man named Osman (or Ataman?) about whom very little is known, first established his rule in Bithynia on the border with Byzantium, he gathered around himself large numbers of raiders

¹³ H. İnalçık, 'Centralization and Decentralization in Ottoman administration', in T. Naff and R. Owen (eds.), *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Islamic History* (Carbondale, Ill., 1977), 27–52. See also H. İnalçık, *The Ottoman Empire* (New York, 1973).

¹⁴ For the first surviving Ottoman land survey which dates from 1431–2, see İnalçık, *Hicrî 835 Tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid* (Ankara, 1954).

¹⁵ For the most nuanced discussion of Wittek's sources in their historical context, see Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, esp. 35–59. This study also discusses at length modern attitudes to Wittek's thesis. A recent attempt to disprove Wittek's thesis based on an analysis of its evidence is H. Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State* (Albany, NY, 2003). On the Bursa inscription of 1337, see C. Heywood, 'The 1337 Bursa Inscription and its interpreters', *Turcica* 36 (2004), 215–32; L. Kalus, 'L'Inscription de Bursa au nom du sultan Orhan, datée de 738/1337–38: Comment faut-il la lire?', *Turcica*, 36 (2004), 232–51; Lowry, *Nature of Early Ottoman State*, 33–44.

interested in raiding into Byzantine territory.¹⁶ These included a local Christian lord by the name of Köse Mihal ('Michael the Beardless') who eventually converted to Islam, thereby founding the noble Balkan frontier lord family of the Mihaloğluları. The story of Köse Mihal and the fact that the early Ottomans also attacked Muslim neighbours has led Wittek's critics to reject his view that they could have been motivated by religion; but others have pointed out that, although plunder was undoubtedly an important incentive, the culture of the borderland allowed for a great deal of flexibility in matters religious and cultural.¹⁷ It would appear that in the early Ottoman frontier environment it was not uncommon for people born into Islam to be joined on raiding expeditions by recent converts from Christianity, or even the occasional unconverted Christian (who might be encouraged to convert later on). This was possible because the ethos of the early Ottoman state was an inclusive one, characterized by communal sharing and religious syncretism. Apart from dividing up the loot from their raiding expeditions, Christians and Muslims intermarried and participated in common cultural activities, such as pilgrimages and festival/fairs (*panegyris* > *panayır*) in celebration of local saints.¹⁸ In other words, the raiders may indeed have thought of themselves as *gazis* fighting in the name of Islam, but their version of Islam may not necessarily have fit the definition of orthodoxy held by many Sunni Muslims either then or today. It is worth pointing out that such is still the Islam professed by many people in the Balkans and Turkey today, who belong to communities known variously as *Bektaşî* or *Alevî*.¹⁹

Let us now return to the question of centralization, which is intimately connected to the cultural complexity discussed above. While it is true that the binary opposition of centralizing and decentralizing forces is sometimes carried too far as a total explanation of the development of the Ottoman Empire, there can be little doubt that by the turn of the fifteenth century a

¹⁶ For the question of Osman's name, see Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 124.

¹⁷ See primarily Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, esp. 52–90.

¹⁸ Ibid. 74; S. Vryonis, Jun., 'The *Panēgyris* of the Byzantine Saint: A Study in the Nature of a Medieval Institution, its Origins and Fate', in S. Hackel (ed.), *The Byzantine Saint* (London, 1981), 196–228, esp. at 214–26, where the author shows that the Ottoman authorities recognized and taxed these events, which could sometimes be very large.

¹⁹ A good contemporary example is the Bektaşî wrestling festival in honour of Kızıl Deli called Seçek Panayırı, which takes place every year in early August in the Didymoteichon area of Greek Thrace. It is interesting to note that, although this is a Muslim event, the name used for it is the same as that used for the Christian saints' festivals discussed above, namely *panayır*. To my knowledge, there is no contemporary ethnographical study of this event, only some brief information and photos in the Greek book by E. Zenginîs, *Ο Μπεκτασισμός στη Δυτική Θράκη. Συμβολή στην Ιστορία της Διαδόσεως του Μουσουλμανισμού στον Ελλαδικό Χώρο* (Thessalonica, 1988). See also F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* (Oxford, 1929), ii. 521–2, who is unable to identify the exact location of the cult of Kızıl Deli. This work is dated, but remains the starting point for any examination of religious syncretism and cult sites in the Balkans and Asia Minor under Ottoman rule.

struggle was taking place between a new order represented by an imported bureaucratic elite and an older one, in which boundaries between religious communities were often porous, dervishes and other holy men were at least as prominent as Islamic judges, and cultural life was characterized by a greater degree of hybridity. This is clearly visible in a number of textual sources recorded in the late fifteenth century, such as the following well-known passage:

At that time [the reign of Murād I (1362–89)] the tax was low. Conditions were such that even the unbelievers were not oppressed . . . At that time the rulers (*Padishah*) were not greedy. Whatever came into their hands they gave away again, and they did not know what a treasury was. But when [Çandarlı] Hayreddin Pasha came to the Gate [of the government] greedy scholars became the companions of the rulers. They began by displaying piety and then went on to issue rulings (*fetva*). ‘He who is ruler must have a treasury,’ they said.²⁰

Passages such as the above have been used to argue for a conflict between centralizing and decentralizing forces either in the late fifteenth century (when the chronicle cited above was compiled) or as early as the late fourteenth century, the time to which the chronicle refers.²¹ Moreover, such texts have been said to represent ‘the *gazi* point of view’. In fact, it seems that social tensions had been brought about by the growth of the Ottoman raiding principality into a regional super-power by the end of the fourteenth century. The event that brought these tensions to a head was the disaster of 1402, in which Timur (Tamerlane) completely dismembered the eastern part of Bayezid I’s empire. Surely is no coincidence that the first surviving Ottoman historical accounts date to that time, and that they show a preoccupation with themes similar to the passage we have just seen.²²

As has already been mentioned, the debate over the Wittek thesis has focused on the fourteenth century, for which contemporary sources are practically non-existent. However, much could be gained by concentrating also on the early fifteenth century, which has been largely neglected despite the fact that its sources are much more plentiful. It has long been believed that the years after 1402 witnessed the production of the first Ottoman historical narratives to have come down to us.²³ These are usually said to be

²⁰ B. Lewis, *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople* (New York, 1974), ii. 135. The original text from the Ottoman Anonymous Chronicles can be found in F. Giese, *Die altosmanischen anonymen Chroniken* (Breslau, 1992–5), i. 25.

²¹ C. Imber, ‘Paul Wittek’s “De la défaite d’Ankara à la prise de Constantinople”’, *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, 5 (1986), 291–304, argues that attitudes such as the demonization of the Çandarlı family of viziers date to the second half of the 15th cent., making passages such as the above retrospective projections.

²² For specific examples, see below.

²³ V. L. Ménage, ‘The Beginnings of Ottoman Historiography’, in Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt (eds.), *Historians of the Middle East* (London, 1962), 168–79; H. İnalcık, ‘The Rise of Ottoman Historiography’, *Ibid.* 152–67.

the chronicle of Yahşi Fakih (which survives only as part of the late fifteenth-century chronicle of Aşıkpaşazade) and a verse account of Ottoman history by the poet Ahmedi, which forms part of a larger Alexander Romance (*İskendername*) by the same poet.²⁴ However, one must also add to these two other works that are of equal antiquity but of a more limited scope: the anonymous *Tales of Sultan Mehmed* (*Ahval-i Sultan Mehmed*) and Abdülvasi Çelebi's verse account of the Battle of Çamurlu (1413).²⁵ These works form interesting parallels to the first two, in that the *Tales of Sultan Mehmed* only survives as part of two late fifteenth-century compilations (Neşri and Oxford Anonymous), and Abdülvasi Çelebi's epic forms part of a larger work in verse by the same poet, the *Halilname*, which deals with the life of the prophet Abraham (*İbrahim Halilullah*).

It is interesting to note that, although the Wittek thesis continues to be hotly contested in historical circles, the sources to which we have referred (*The Tales of Sultan Mehmed* and the historical section of the *Halilname*) have yet to be brought to bear on the debate. This is puzzling, since these works are as old as Ahmedi's *İskendername*, which has been at the centre of the controversy from the beginning down to the present time. There are several reasons for the neglect of these sources. The historical section of the *Halilname* is a relatively recent discovery, while the *Tales of Sultan Mehmed* is an anonymous chronicle that does not survive as a separate manuscript. Most importantly, both sources deal with an especially complex period of Ottoman history about which until recently almost nothing was known. While it is easy to explain the omission, it is an unfortunate one, for especially when taken together and used comparatively these sources provide valuable insights into early Ottoman history and have much to contribute to the discussion over Wittek's thesis. The time has therefore come to consider them in that light.

A careful examination of the two works, both of which date from the first two decades of the fifteenth century, reveals a preoccupation not only with the question of centralization already discussed, but also with matters of dynastic succession. In fact, the two questions are related, since one of the reasons the Ottomans were more successful than their forerunners and rivals at creating a durable centralized empire was their ability to prevent fragmentation of their domains. This was achieved by passing on the entire empire after the death of a ruler to a single close male relative, usually a son, a practice called

²⁴ V. L. Ménage, 'The "Menāqib" of Yakhshi Faqih', *BSOAS* 26 (1963), 50–4; Aşıkpaşazade, *Die altosmanische Chronik*; K. Sılay, 'Ahmedi's History of the Ottoman Dynasty', *Journal of Turkish Studies*, 16 (1992), 129–200.

²⁵ D. Kastritsis, *The Tales of Sultan Mehmed, Son of Bayezid Khan [Ahvāl-i Sultān Mehmed bin Bāyezīd Hân]* (Cambridge, Mass., 2009). A more detailed analysis of the chronicle can be found in idem, *Sons of Bayezid*, 28–32. This book also contains an appendix with an English tr. of Abdülvasi Çelebi's work on the Battle of Çamurlu (see below). The original is publi. by A. Gölbaş, *Hâlilname* (Ankara, 1996), 254–78.

unigeniture. This practice distinguished the Ottomans from the Seljuks and Mongols before them, who practised the so-called appanage system.²⁶ According to that system, common in a Central Asian tribal context, all close male relatives of a deceased ruler had an equal claim to a share of his realm, which was parcelled out to them as fiefs or governorships. While the Ottomans, too, appointed princes to governorships, the ruler's death (actual or impending) resulted in a succession struggle during which only one of them survived to inherit the entire realm. The only case in Ottoman history where large parts of the empire were ruled simultaneously by different princes for a significant period of time was the civil war of 1402–13, the 'interregnum' that forms the subject of the literary works mentioned above. This was an exceptional situation, imposed by Timur (Tamerlane) after his victory over the Ottomans at Ankara. During the period in question, the Ottomans felt the need to justify their fratricidal succession practices, because Timur and his successor Shah-rukh treated the Ottoman princes as their vassals, but perhaps also because the Ottoman succession system had not yet fully developed.²⁷

The preoccupation with dynastic succession, power-sharing, and fratricide mentioned above is most evident in the *Tales of Sultan Mehmed*, where the entire narrative appears to have been constructed in such a way as to justify the rise to power of its protagonist Sultan Mehmed I. Specifically, Mehmed is presented as willing to share power with his brothers İsa, Süleyman, and Musa, so long as they recognize his supremacy—an arrangement perfectly in keeping with Central Asian tradition. However, Mehmed's older brothers İsa and Süleyman are unwilling to share power with him because of his young age, while his younger brother Musa, who grew up in Mehmed's court, betrays his oath to rule the province of Rumeli in his name. These transgressions leave Mehmed with little choice but to fight his brothers. Even so, he is presented as unwilling to kill them, their deaths being blamed on others (in the case of Musa, Mehmed's overzealous officers, who are taking revenge for Musa's killing of Süleyman). Some of these ideas are corroborated by the *Halilname* which presents Süleyman as unwilling to share power and paints Musa as an upstart vassal of Mehmed who betrayed his oath and wanted the entire realm for himself.²⁸ The fact that these contemporary sources go to such lengths to justify Mehmed's elimination of his brothers suggests that, at the time when they were written, dynastic fratricide was not yet well-established as the Ottoman means of succession, and still needed to be justified. Probably the

²⁶ See Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 120, 136–8.

²⁷ The only certain case of Ottoman fratricide before 1402 was the accession of Bayezid I after the Battle of Kosovo (1389), when Bayezid's brother was put to death to prevent a succession struggle.

²⁸ Abdülvasî Çelebi, *Halilnâme*, vv. 1748–70; for an English tr., see Kastritsis, *Sons of Bayezid*, 222–3. The same study by the present author contains a detailed analysis of the ideas on dynastic succession contained in the *Tales of Sultan Mehmed*; see esp. ch. 6.

most important reason for this was the political challenge posed by Timur and his successors. In a well-known letter to Mehmed dated 1416 (AH 818), Timur's heir Shahrukh reprimanded Mehmed for killing his brothers, stating that such a practice may conform to Ottoman custom but not to that of the Ilkhanid Mongols.²⁹

Let us now return to the Wittek thesis and the question of centralization. Matters of dynastic succession are not the only area in which the *Tales of Sultan Mehmed* is at pains to send the right message to its intended audience. Judging from the style of the chronicle, this audience was a popular one, but one still struggling with Wittek's borderland—hinterland opposition. In fact, in the case of the Amasya area where Mehmed was based, this opposition frequently takes the form of a conflict pitting nomadic against sedentary populations.³⁰ It is interesting to note here that, like the *Ottoman Anonymous Chronicles*, our source does not fail to include some stories about the treacherous Çandarlı Ali Paşa, who is fair game since he served the defeated Sultan Bayezid (for whose misguided policies he is presumably to be blamed) as well as Mehmed's brother and rival Emir Süleyman, himself presented as overly fond of wine, baths, and other courtly pleasures. Such stories would appeal to members of the audience holding borderland or nomadic ideals, as would the following passage from the end of the *Tales*, in which Mehmed is holding a banquet for his tribal brother-in-law Dulkadir-oğlu before they set out with other allies to defeat Musa and reunite the Ottoman realm:

In the course of friendly conversation, the Sultan warmed up, and gifted to Dulkadir-oğlu the clothes he was wearing, the horse he rode on, and every sort of banqueting utensil in the room: goblets, decanters, and various other gold and silver utensils. And he donated robes of honour to his beys and men, bestowing endless bounty on each and every one of them. Then the Sultan became passionate, and said: 'Let everyone know that I am campaigning in Rumeli. I have a horse, a sword, and a mace, and they are enough for me! Whatever else is won is to be shared with my companions!'³¹

Here Mehmed is presented in a very similar manner to that in which his ancestor Osman, the founder of the Ottoman dynasty, is depicted in well-known chronicles of the late fifteenth century, proof that such ideals are not just applied anachronistically by late fifteenth-century chroniclers, as Wittek's critics have alleged.³² Instead, the *Tales of Sultan Mehmed* suggest that, in his struggles with his brothers and external enemies, Mehmed was at pains to present himself as a popular raider-lord of the nomadic or borderland

²⁹ The letter is preserved in the 16th-cent. Ottoman chancery manual of Feridun, *Münşe'at üs-Selâtin*, i. 150. For a partial English tr., see Kastritsis, *Sons of Bayezid*, 203.

³⁰ Kastritsis, *Tales of Sultan Mehmed*, 5–11, 45–53.

³¹ Ibid. 36.

³² For Osman in Ottoman chronicles, see Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 60.

type. In other passages, however, his adversaries in the Amasya-Tokat area are referred to as 'Turcomans without pedigree' who move about the countryside in tents plundering the belongings of the tax-paying subjects (*re'aya*). It would appear, then, that while Mehmed I was trying to be a sedentary ruler on the Perso-Islamic model, the political culture in which he was operating forced him to pay lip-service to borderland ideals and coopt potential enemies by persuading them to join him.³³

Reading Wittek and İnalcık, it is sometimes easy to form the impression that the conflicts of early Ottoman history were of an entirely socio-economic nature. The episode most often cited as an example of such social tensions is the revolt of Şeyh Bedreddin (1416), which became a feature of modern mainstream Turkish culture with the publication in the 1930s of Nazım Hikmet's epic poem on the subject.³⁴ Hikmet was not the only person at the time to view Bedreddin in such a light—in 1938, possibly influenced by the poet, Paul Wittek was also presenting Bedreddin as a proto-communist and extremist, a characterization he also applied to the Ottoman prince Musa Çelebi, in whose regime Bedreddin had served as the supreme legal and religious authority (*kadi*–'askeri, head military judge).³⁵ Such representations stem from the claim made by Ottoman and Byzantine chronicles that the revolt in which Bedreddin was involved advocated common property and the equality of Christians and Muslims.³⁶ While it cannot be denied that social and economic forces lay at the heart of the Bedreddin revolt, it is important to understand that the social ideals championed by the *şeyh*'s followers also had an important religious and cultural dimension.

Bedreddin was in a position to wield great religious and mystical authority at a time when esoteric and eschatological ideas were extremely widespread. This context also explains the fact that in the *Hālilname* discussed above, Sultan Mehmed I is referred to repeatedly as *Mahdi* (Messiah), perhaps in response to similar claims made by his brother and adversary Musa, who was Bedreddin's patron.³⁷ While it is impossible to determine the precise extent to

³³ Apart from his marriage alliance with the important tribal confederacy of Dulkadir, Mehmed is able to gain over to his side the 'Turcomans without pedigree' by defeating them militarily, so that they appear in his army in his final campaign against Musa. See Kastritsis, *Sons of Bayezid*, 63–78, 188–94.

³⁴ N. Hikmet, *Simavne Kadısı Oğlu Şeyh Bedreddin Destanı* (Ankara, 1936, 1966).

³⁵ Wittek, 'De la défaite d'Ankara', 1–34. Wittek has been accused of projecting the concerns of his own time onto early Ottoman history; see Imber, 'Paul Wittek's "De la défaite d'Ankara"', 291–304, and C. Heywood, 'A Subterranean History: Paul Wittek (1894–1978) and the Early Ottoman State', *Die Welt des Islams*, 38 (1998), 386–405.

³⁶ The most important source on this aspect of the revolt is Doukas, *Ducæ Historia Turcobyzantina (1341–1462)*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucarest, 1958), 149–153 (21:11–14). It must be noted that the chronicler does not mention Bedreddin by name, but only Börklüce Mustafa, who led the revolt in western Anatolia apparently as Bedreddin's deputy.

³⁷ Kastritsis, *Sons of Bayezid*, 217–18, 221–2, 229.

which Bedreddin's appointment reflected the policies of Musa Çelebi's administration—since after all, Bedreddin was one of the most respected legal scholars of his time—it is difficult to ignore the messianic dimension of both men's careers.³⁸ Holy men with esoteric ideas were every bit as important a part of early Ottoman society as generous rulers engaged in border warfare; and beyond his legal training, Bedreddin was also a great mystic whose followers included Balkan raiders, Christian Orthodox monks, and wandering Muslim ascetics. Such closeness between Christians and Muslims at a time of conflict is not as unusual as it may seem to us today; the passage below, taken from a Venetian report dated 1403, shows the complex realities of the time:

In Gallipoli we also learned that many Turks dwelt along Negroponte and did not wish to give up any of their land, and the Greeks there supported them. By bribery I was able to obtain five miles inland on the mainland opposite Negroponte, for which I promised the Turks two thousand ducats.³⁹

The passage is from a report to the Venetian government regarding the progress of treaty negotiations after the Ottoman defeat of 1402, which resulted in the Ottoman ruler Emir Süleyman making significant territorial concessions to Byzantium, Venice, and other powers. It shows that official policy was not always accepted on the ground.

To sum up our discussion of the Wittek thesis, then, the most striking characteristic of the geographical region in which the Ottomans were operating in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries appears to have been its ethnic, social, and religious complexity, which resulted in a lack of clear boundaries between people and ideas. This may appear paradoxical at first, for the period in question was a time of religious wars, in which towns were destroyed, people enslaved, and the countryside ravished. Yet in the midst of it all, a new society was emerging under the rule of the Ottoman sultans and their independent-minded generals, the lords of the marches, in which ideas of justice and security for all people irrespective of religion conflicted with more Islamic notions of sharia law and taxation by religious affiliation. There can be

³⁸ The standard work on Bedreddin is M. Balivet, *Islam mystique et révolution armée dans les Balkans ottomans* (Istanbul, 1995). See also E. Çıpa, 'Contextualizing Şeyh Bedreddin: notes on Halil b. İsmâ'il's Menâkıb-ı Şeyh Bedreddin b. İsrâ'il [sic]', *Şinasi Tekin'in Anısına: Uygurlardan Osmanlıya* (Istanbul, 2005), 285–95. For a treatment of Bedreddin's career in the context of the Ottoman civil war of 1402–13, see D. Kastritsis, 'The Revolt of Şeyh Bedreddin in the Context of the Ottoman Civil War of 1402–13', *Halcyon Days in Crete VII* (Rethymnon, in press). For Bedreddin's connection to the master of the occult sciences Abd al-Rahman al-Bistami, see C. H. Fleischer, 'Ancient Wisdom and New Sciences: Prophecies at the Ottoman Court in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries', in M. Farhad and S. Bağcı (eds.), *Falnama: The Book of Omens* (Washington DC, 2009), 232.

³⁹ G. T. Dennis, 'The Byzantine-Turkish Treaty of 1403', *OCP* 33 (1967), 82–7; repr. in his *Byzantium and the Franks* (London, 1982), no. VI (report of Pietro Zeno to the Venetian government).

little doubt that once firmly established, the new *pax ottomanica* finally brought stability to a long-troubled region; however, as the Ottoman Empire grew stronger and more stable, it also became more centralized and orthodox, so that stability came at the price of belonging to a monarchy that categorized and taxed its subjects according to religion. In the early Ottoman state, members of the Balkan Christian petty aristocracy were granted military fiefs (*timar*); by the sixteenth century, such privileges were generally limited to Muslims. In fact, Christian-born peasants had access to the highest posts in the empire through the institution of the *devşirme* ('gathering'), a uniquely Ottoman practice of taking Christian boys from rural areas and converting them to Islam to become either Janissaries (elite infantry) or top administrators in the central government. For those who stayed outside this slave (*kul*) system and remained Christian, however, the only official path to advancement was through the church. Similarly, at least until the seventeenth century, most Muslim-born men could only join the ruling class by studying in religious schools (*madrassas*).

The great success of the Ottomans has been attributed to a number of factors, and historians continue to search for the single characteristic that gave them a competitive edge over their rivals. While it is impossible to reduce Ottoman success to a single element, whether this be geographical location, administrative practices, or succession system, it is worth discussing here the circumstances surrounding the transformation of the Ottoman principality into an empire, since these played a part in shaping its character and ideology.

2. EMPIRE-BUILDING AND THE LANGUAGE OF POLITICAL LEGITIMATION

While we have seen that the character of the early Ottoman state is still a matter of dispute, one thing is clear: the Ottomans stepped into a relative power vacuum in which they were quickly able to become the main power-brokers. This process favoured the flexibility that would arguably become the main hallmark of Ottoman civilization.⁴⁰ The Battle of Mantzikert (1071) and the First Crusade (1095–9) had created a political landscape in Asia Minor closely resembling that of medieval Spain, in which territory was constantly contested by various Christian and Muslim powers; true, there were periods of more centralized rule by Byzantium or the Seljuk state of Rum, but those were

⁴⁰ The first to explain how the Ottomans conquered by intervening in local conflicts was İnalcık, in his article 'Ottoman Methods of Conquest' cited above. For further evidence from the early 15th cent., see D. Kastritsis, 'Religious Affiliations and Political Alliances in the Ottoman Succession Wars of 1402–1413', *Medieval Encounters*, 13 (2007), 222–42.

the exception and generally lasted no more than a few decades.⁴¹ In the Balkans, the Fourth Crusade (1204) resulted in a similarly fragmented situation, with Byzantium losing control of Constantinople and many territories in Greece to Venice and other Latin powers. Even after the reconquest of the imperial capital (1261), Byzantium was only a shadow of its former self, divided by civil strife and competing with the Latin states of Greece and the Serbian kingdom of Stefan Dušan (d. 1355), which itself collapsed not long after the Ottoman conquest of Gallipoli (1354).

In light of this situation, it is not at all difficult to understand why the Ottomans were so successful in north-western Asia Minor and in the Balkans. The populations they encountered there were divided and exhausted by endemic warfare. Moreover, there is strong evidence that in late Byzantium, peasants were growing poorer as they sold their land and succumbed to exploitation by large landowners, including monasteries.⁴² In territories under Latin rule the situation could also be difficult, depending on the power in charge and mode of administration of the territories in question. Areas under Frankish rule were often administered in a feudal and colonial manner, while the native population of Venetian Coron and Modon appear to have had more rights than that of Crete, which was also a Venetian colony.⁴³ In some cases, Latin rulers oppressed the native population in matters of religion, imposing Catholic bishops and making it difficult for Orthodox priests to be ordained.⁴⁴ In fact, hostility to the Catholic Church was a major factor in the willingness of many Balkan Christians to accept Ottoman rule, since following standard Islamic practice the Ottomans generally allowed Orthodox Christians to practise their religion freely.⁴⁵ Mehmed II even preserved the Byzantine church hierarchy, after making sure to select as Patriarch of Constantinople the leader of the faction opposed to union with Rome, Gennadios Scholarios. Contrary to the claims of certain Balkan nationalists, support of the Orthodox Church was a central tenet of the Ottoman imperial

⁴¹ On medieval Anatolia, see C. Cahen, *La Turquie Pre-Ottomane* (Istanbul, 1988).

⁴² A. E. Laiou, *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire: A Social and Demographic Study* (Princeton, 1977), esp. 182–266; E. A. Zachariadou, 'Notes sur la population de l'Asie Mineure turque au XIV^e siècle', *BF* 12 (1987), 223–31, esp. at 229–31.

⁴³ C. Hodgetts, 'Venetian Officials and Greek Peasantry in the Fourteenth Century', in J. Chrysostomides (ed.), *Kathegetria: Essays Presented to Joan Hussey for her 80th Birthday* (Camberley, Surrey, 1988), 481–99; J. Chrysostomides, 'Symbiosis in the Peloponnese in the Aftermath of the Fourth Crusade', in A. Avramea et al. (eds.), *Byzantium State and Society: In Memory of Nikos Oikonomides* (Athens, 2003), 155–67; P. Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean 1204–1500* (Harlow, 1995), 194–221, 266–309.

⁴⁴ For a concise account of the changing circumstances of the Orthodox clergy from Byzantine to Latin to Ottoman rule, see E. A. Zachariadou, 'Glances at the Greek Orthodox Priests in the Seventeenth Century', in V. Costantini and M. Koller (eds.), *Living in the Ottoman Ecumenical Community: Essays in Honour of Suraiya Faruqi* (Leiden, 2008), 307–16.

⁴⁵ In fact, there were many factors behind the flight of Christians to lands under Muslim rule. For some examples, see Zachariadou, 'Notes sur la population', 223–31, esp. 229–31.

order, and the Orthodox clergy were considered as government employees belonging to the *askeri* (military) class, as opposed to the productive classes which were known regardless of religion as the *re'aya* (meaning literally 'flock').

Together with the Islamic precepts mentioned above, categories such as *askeri* and *re'aya* were part and parcel of Ottoman political ideology, which we will now examine in more detail. While much has been written on the subject, until recently most scholarship has tended to reduce Ottoman political ideas to one or another external influence. This is an ahistorical and overly simplistic approach for a complex empire created over the course of over a century in a fragmented geographical environment, as described above. In fact, Ottoman political ideology came about gradually through encounters with rival political entities, which had their own ideologies. Ever aware of the competition, the Ottomans were adept at appropriating rival ideological elements, while at the same time stressing their own difference and unique historical trajectory. It is thus impossible to reduce Ottoman ideas of power and government to a single 'essential' element, such as Islam, Byzantium, Iran, or Central Asia. All of these elements were present, though sometimes in conflict, as was another of key importance: the Ottomans' own experience of conquest and rule.

Ottoman civilization (for it deserves to be viewed as a civilization in its own right) has been accused of lacking in originality; but while it is true that many of its constitutive elements can be found in the civilizations that preceded it, the resulting synthesis was unique. Let us look, then, at some of the characteristics of this synthesis in the so-called 'classical age' of Ottoman civilization (fifteenth–sixteenth centuries). It is important to understand the language and values underlying politics in this period, as they remained a major point of reference for Ottoman politicians and intellectuals down to the twentieth century, indeed in Turkey even to the present day. One all-important element is the idea of justice, embodied in the person of the Ottoman Sultan himself. This can be seen everywhere; a famous example is the Tower of Justice that is the highest point of the Sultan's palace at Topkapı, with a window at its base from which the Sultan could listen unobserved to the deliberations of his council of ministers (*viziers*). As his representatives, the *viziers* were charged with carrying out all important affairs of state, including petitions from ordinary subjects for the redress of wrongs, often committed by corrupt officials. In order to show that justice was being served, the Sultan had to punish such officials severely; in fact, following an ancient Near Eastern idea, it was thought that failure to prevent official corruption would lead to the decline of the empire itself, for the productive classes, administrators, and even the Sultan himself were bound together in a 'circle of justice' in which injustice such as overtaxation led to the inability of the peasantry to sustain

the army.⁴⁶ The Sultan, who following the titulature of the Seljuks was called 'shadow of God on Earth', was the key to preventing disintegration, by keeping a vigilant eye on his own servants and punishing them whenever necessary. Grand viziers who were found guilty of a capital crime were executed in front of the Sublime Porte, the gate to the Sultan's residence in the third court of the Topkapı palace, which was synonymous with his rule and Ottoman government itself.⁴⁷

Apart from the Topkapı palace, constructed by Mehmed the Conqueror and modified by Süleyman the Magnificent and his successors, the most important monuments built by the Ottoman sultans were the religious complexes bearing their names. These have an interesting history going back to the fourteenth century, when the central building of the complexes in question was not as from the late fifteenth century onwards a Friday mosque, but rather a so-called 'T-type' or multifunctional building, containing a central space for dervish ceremonies, side rooms that functioned as lodging and dining spaces, and usually (but not always) an elevated room for prayer. Of course, like Muslim rulers before them since the rise of Islam, Ottoman sultans prior to Mehmed the Conqueror also built large Friday mosques of the hypostele type to serve the needs of the congregation, but it is significant that the complexes bearing their names were the multifunctional ones, consisting of a main building surrounded by service buildings such as schools (madrasas), hospitals, and soup kitchens. Mehmed the Conqueror was the first Ottoman ruler to build a royal complex in which the central building was a Friday mosque, a move seen as representing the assertion of the Sultan's power over that of the dervishes and Sufi brotherhoods.⁴⁸ By building the Fatih complex in which a Friday mosque is flanked by eight madrasas, Mehmed proclaimed to all that his empire was a Sunni Muslim polity with a strong central government capable of producing its own hierarchy of religious functionaries. These people were trained in the madrasas and formed the judiciary and Muslim scholarly class (*ulema*), a counterpart to the military-executive branch of government staffed largely with *kul*, who as we have already seen were trained in the palace.

When attempting to understand Ottoman imperial ideology, it is important to understand that the ideology in question was constantly evolving, and cannot be separated from its expression in a variety of visual and other

⁴⁶ See e.g. Nizam al-Mulk, *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings*, tr. H. Darke (Richmond, Surrey, 2002), 9–41. For a comparison with pre-Islamic Iran, see T. Daryaei, *Sasanian Persia* (London, 2009), 41–2.

⁴⁷ For a description of this gate and its significance, see G. Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), 88–90, 107–8. The same volume should be consulted for the Tower of Justice and council of ministers.

⁴⁸ On the development of Ottoman mosque architecture to reflect changing political ideology, see G. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan* (London, 2005), 77–103.

media, which evolved as well.⁴⁹ As we have just seen, Ottoman ideas about power and legitimacy can be read into architecture, where it is even possible to trace in the evolution of the sultanic pious complex the assertion of the central government over older religious elites (the Sufi dervishes). We have also seen that these elites, born out of the complex religio-cultural landscape of medieval Anatolia which had given birth to the Ottoman political venture, posed a challenge to its evolution into a more centralized empire. Another area that lends itself to the same sort of structural analysis is ceremonial, which is not unrelated to architecture, since public ceremonies embodying and celebrating the Ottoman order invariably involved important monuments. As with sultanic mosque complexes, these ceremonies reached their height in the sixteenth century during the reigns of Süleyman the Magnificent and his heirs, and many descriptions and depictions of them have come down to us, both Ottoman and European. They included the Sultan's public procession to Friday prayer, which after Süleyman's decision to seclude himself in the Topkapı palace became one of the few occasions on which he could be seen; enthronements and other ceremonies in the second court of the Topkapı palace; and processions in the Roman Hippodrome on the occasion of the circumcisions of royal princes. All of these ceremonies legitimized the Ottoman imperial order by showcasing the empire's splendour and hierarchical structure, with the sultan at its centre, either enthroned or on horseback, followed by his viziers, Janissaries, and *ulema*.

The near-total seclusion of the sultan was a mid-sixteenth-century development, since as we have seen early fifteenth-century Ottoman rulers took pains to present themselves as charismatic frontier warriors whose divine power was channelled through holy men. However, it is important to understand that even though the image of the sultan changed a great deal during this time and continued to do so under Süleyman's successors, the two fundamental attributes of military leader and quasi-sacred sovereign were present from early on, and it was only their expression that changed. Süleyman I was the last sultan to lead the Ottoman armies in person, not just in the beginning of his reign but at the end, when his presence was considered important enough that Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Paşa insisted the aged and ailing sultan be brought along to the siege of Szigetvar in a litter. After Süleyman, sultans no longer went on campaign, but their official symbols of rule continued to include swords and jewelled canteens, since they were still thought of as nominal leaders of the armies of Islam, not unlike the Abbasid caliphs before them whose spiritual authority they believed they had inherited by overthrowing the

⁴⁹ On the subject of Ottoman legitimation, see H. T. Karateke and M. Reinkowski, *Legitimizing the Order* (Leiden, 2005), esp. the introductory ch. by H. T. Karateke, 'Legitimizing the Ottoman Sultanate: A Framework for Historical Analysis'.

Mamluks in Syria and Egypt.⁵⁰ Conversely, early fifteenth-century sultans like Mehmed I may have been presented in contemporary chronicles doing things on the battlefield that would have shocked later readers, but were still quasi-divine figures imbued with celestial authority of a more heroic sort, reminiscent of Mongol khans or the ancient Persian heroes of the *Shahnama*. Take for example the following passage from the *Tales of Sultan Mehmed*:

The sound of big drums and kettledrums and pipes and trumpets filled the world. At the foot of the standard was the Sultan fully armed looking like a lion, and on his right and left were the brave fighters of Rum looking like dragons. The lieutenants chanted prayers and praises, saying: 'This is the Padishah of the Earth, descended from generations of padishahs, who defeated İnal-oğlu, cut off the head of Kara Devletşah, and drove away Kubad-oğlu and Kara Yahya.'⁵¹

Mehmed's presentation as a victorious warrior was all the more important as he was ruling at a time when the empire was faced with a number of challenges, which called the Ottoman dynasty's prestige into question. Under Mehmed's father Bayezid I this prestige had increased considerably alongside territorial expansion. Bayezid had made use of armies provided by his Christian vassals in the Balkans (including Byzantium) to overthrow well-established dynasties in Anatolia, such as the Karamanids, whose possession of Konya, the old capital of the Seljuks of Rum, allowed them to claim the prestigious title 'Sultan of Rum'. It is thus no coincidence that Bayezid sent an embassy to the puppet Abbasid caliph in Cairo asking for permission to use that title himself.⁵² After the Battle of Mantzikert (1071) the Sultan of Rum was known throughout the Muslim world for the fact that he ruled over territory that had belonged to the Roman Empire (Byzantium), whose capital Constantinople was one of the most coveted but elusive goals of the early Islamic conquests. Bayezid I tried to conquer the city by laying siege to it for eight years, but was forced to abandon the siege when Timur (Tamerlane) appeared on his eastern border. When the Ottomans were finally able to conquer Constantinople in 1453 under Mehmed II, their prestige in the Islamic world increased immensely. But it was only in the sixteenth century that the Ottomans emerged as the pre-eminent Sunni power in the Middle East by defeating the Mamluks and absorbing their territory and vassals, who included the Sharifs of Mecca. Thus by the time Süleyman I assumed power in 1520, the Ottoman Empire comprised not only the land of the former Byzantine Empire, but also the classical lands of Islam and the holy sites of all three

⁵⁰ For examples of these ceremonial objects, see E. Atıl, *The Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent* (Washington, DC, and New York, 1987), 123–30.

⁵¹ Kastritsis, *The Tales of Sultan Mehmed*, 10 (Codex Menzel 108, Oxford Anonymous Chronicle 59v).

⁵² See P. Wittek, 'Le Sultan de Rûm', *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, 6 (1938), 381–2.

monotheistic religions. A world emperor of such stature could afford to remain secluded in his palace, looking out over his empire which spanned two seas and two continents.

One of the most interesting characteristics of early Ottoman imperial ideology, then, was its versatility, its ability to respond to challenges from rival powers in kind, absorbing their titles, symbols, and cultural artefacts into its own, avowedly complex culture. Examples are numerous—some of the more striking are as follows. A characteristically Ottoman imperial symbol was the *tugra*, a sort of imperial seal unique to each sultan, whose basic shape was already determined by the mid-fourteenth century, but whose titulature was only set in the sixteenth century. It is surely no coincidence that the title *Khan* was added to the *tugra* in the late fourteenth century, when the Ottoman sultan Bayezid I was pushing into eastern Anatolia and building up to his fateful confrontation with Timur (Tamerlane); or that the title *Shah* was added in the early sixteenth century by Selim I, who pursued aggressive policies toward the Safavids of Iran.⁵³ As they conquered territory, the Ottomans adopted the titulature of former rulers and adversaries with whom they entered into competition. Thus apart from *Shah*, Süleyman also called himself King of Hungary and Caesar, a title that he claimed by virtue of his possession of the former Byzantine lands, but which also allowed him to make claims on the city of Rome.⁵⁴

By the middle of the sixteenth century, Ottoman competition with the Safavids resulted in the production of imitations of the great Persian Book of Kings (*Shahnama*) in which the protagonists were not the ancient kings of Iran, but the Ottoman sultans themselves. Ever since its completion by the poet Firdowsi in the year 1010, and especially since the Mongol invasion, the *Shahnama* had become an indispensable symbol of kingship in the Perso-Islamic world.⁵⁵ From the Ilkhanid and Timurid periods onwards, manuscripts of the *Shahnama* also came to be illustrated with costly miniatures depicting key scenes in the epic. Verse chronicles in Persian were produced prior to the Ottomans in the metre and style of the *Shahnama*, and the Safavids also produced such works; however, they mainly favoured the more subtle legitimation provided by giving away luxurious copies of Firdowsi's work in which the figures in the miniatures were made to look like Safavids with red batons in their turbans.⁵⁶ The Ottoman Sultans were less subtle, and

⁵³ P. Wittek, 'Notes sur la *tughra* ottomane', *B* 18 (1948), 311–34; *B* 20 (1950), 267–93. The author notes that the appearance (and disappearance) of the titles *khan* and *shah* at particular historical junctures, but only hints at the political implications, focusing instead on the structural aspect.

⁵⁴ Necipoğlu, 'Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power', 411.

⁵⁵ C. Melville and E. Yarshater (eds.), *Persian Historiography* (London, 2012).

⁵⁶ The main example is the Houghton *Shahnama*, which is generally regarded as the most splendid *Shahnama* ever produced, and was given to the Ottomans as a gift. See S. C. Welch, *A*

were happy to commission illustrated manuscripts in imitation of the *Shah-nama* in which their own accomplishments were recounted.⁵⁷ So much did this style of history-writing appeal to them, in fact, that they eventually created an official post in their court for a 'composer of Shahnamas' (*şehnameci*).

Ottoman Shahnamas of the sort described above were a sixteenth-century development, and miniature painting in the empire reached its peak during the reign of Murad III (1574–95). Nevertheless, it is possible to identify already much earlier the same desire to appropriate and 'Ottomanize' the cultural symbols of political rivals to the east. A striking example is the rather Timurid-looking complex of Mehmed I in Bursa completed in 1421, containing the so-called 'Green Mosque' (*Yeşil Cami*) and 'Green tomb' (*Yeşil Türbe*). Although used as a Friday mosque today, the 'Green Mosque' is in fact an early Ottoman T-type multifunctional building of the variety described earlier in this chapter, but with a twist: both the main building and the adjoining tomb of Mehmed I are richly decorated with *cuerda seca* tiles of a sort usually associated with Timurid architecture, signed by 'the masters of Tabriz'.

This decorative programme was coordinated by an Ottoman painter taken prisoner by Timur and trained in his court in Samarkand.⁵⁸ When taken together with the fact that many of the inscriptions inside the building are Persian didactic couplets by the great poet Sa'di about liberation from oppression, this decorative style conveys an unmistakeable message: under Mehmed I, the Ottomans had recovered from the crippling defeat inflicted on them by the oppressor Timur (Tamerlane), and were in a position to compete with his descendants on the same cultural terms. The same point is made by the (admittedly rather brief) use of the Turkic tribal symbol of the Kayı clan, from which the Ottomans claimed to be descended, on a coin minted during the reign of Sultan Murad II.⁵⁹

King's Book of Kings (New York, 1972); M. Dickson and S. C. Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981). (See also Georganteli in this volume for the Mongol Shahnama tradition.)

⁵⁷ E. Atıl, *Süleymanname: The Illustrated History of Süleyman the Magnificent* (New York and Washington DC, 1986); Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, *Hünernâme: Minyatürleri ve Sanatçıları* (Istanbul, 1969).

⁵⁸ Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 78. On the Yeşil Cami complex, see Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mi'mârîsinde Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri, 806–855 (1403–1451)* (Istanbul, 1972). On the tilework, see esp. G. Necipoğlu, 'From International Timurid to Ottoman: A Change of Taste in Sixteenth-Century Ceramic Tiles', *Muqarnas*, 7 (1990), 136–70. It is clear that the spread of Timurid-style tilework around the Islamic world in this period should be seen as a larger cultural phenomenon (Necipoğlu refers to 'the international-Timurid decorative repertoire': 'From International Timurid', 137) but this in itself does not contradict the idea that such decoration would probably have carried considerable political meaning in this particular context.

⁵⁹ See Imber, 'Ottoman Dynastic Myth', 16–17. For Yazıcızade's reproduction of the Kayı tribal symbol, see W. M. Thackston (ed.), *Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami'u't-tawarikh, Compendium of Chronicles* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998), p. xxxi.

The Ottoman appropriation of imperial symbols used by political rivals was not limited to the Islamic world. We have already seen that Süleyman the Magnificent used the title Caesar, indicating that, when appropriate, the Ottomans could present their Roman credentials (whether in Byzantine or western European form) alongside those derived from the Iranian or Central Asian past. Apart from this title, used already by the Seljuks of Rum, striking examples from the sixteenth century include the creation by the great architect Sinan of a distinctively Ottoman mosque architecture competing explicitly with Byzantine religious architecture (especially the sixth-century Church of Hagia Sophia); and the purchase from Venice at a very high price of a spectacular piece of headgear, specifically designed to trump the claims of Charles V, who made a great spectacle of his coronation by the Pope as Holy Roman Emperor.⁶⁰ It was because of such gestures in the first half of his reign that Sultan Süleyman I became known in the West as 'the Magnificent'.

In conclusion, it is hoped that this brief survey of the development of Ottoman imperial ideology from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century has given the reader a broad idea of how the dynasty legitimized itself in that period and beyond. During that time, the Ottoman Empire grew to become the most important political entity in the Eastern Mediterranean region, effectively turning the Black Sea and half of the Mediterranean into a vast Ottoman lake, and exerting control over all the major overland trade routes from the south and east. It is only natural that the Ottoman system of government and corresponding political ideology would bear the traces of the Ottomans' predecessors in the area, while also representing their response to the competition of rival powers. Thus upon examination, cultural elements from Iran, Central Asia, the Middle East, Byzantium, and south-eastern Europe are all clearly visible, as are traces of the long conflict between the pluralistic late medieval world order and the more centralized 'classical' Ottoman Empire that was finally able to prevail in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This conflict has left its mark even today in the culture and politics of Ottoman successor states such as Turkey, which are often characterized by an opposition between a strong, 'orthodox' state on the one hand, and a more liberal, pluralistic vision on the other. All this begs the question whether there is such a thing as an Ottoman culture at all. In this author's opinion, the answer lies in forsaking the search for an 'essential' Ottoman culture, so dear to modern ideologies, and appreciating instead the cultural complexity of a great world empire, as the Ottomans themselves frequently did.

⁶⁰ For the most recent and complete study of Sinan's architecture, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*. On the crown of Süleyman, see Necipoğlu, 'Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power'.

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Byzantine Authority and Latin Rule in the Gattilusio Lordships

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The profusion of new regimes which were established after 1204 in the former core territories of Byzantium found themselves in a region which had been under the almost uninterrupted sway of a single state and a single political tradition for more than a millennium. Whatever efforts the new governing elites made to legitimize their rule in the eyes of the native population therefore took place in a context shaped by the Byzantine inheritance. The question of political legitimacy, a concern for any government and the more so for those whose rulers were separated from the ruled by differences of culture and belief, was given added pertinence here by the persistent Byzantine insistence on the empire's unique status as the wellspring of legitimate worldly authority.¹ Where Byzantine control had been displaced by force of arms, the relationship of the new rulers with this tradition was inevitably somewhat strained, but for those who could claim an imperial mandate for their rule it was a valuable tool with which to secure the cooperation of those they sought to govern.

The lordships of the Gattilusio dynasty in the northern Aegean were the most durable of the regimes under foreign rulers which were established by imperial consent in this period. They originated in the alliance forged between the emperor John V Palaiologos (1341–91) and the piratical Genoese adventurer Francesco Gattilusio in 1354, when Francesco assisted John in seizing

¹ D. M. Nicol, 'Byzantine Political Thought', in J. H. Burns (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c.350–c.1450* (Cambridge, 1988), 51–3; G. Ostrogorsky, 'The Byzantine Emperor and the Hierarchical World Order', *Slavonic and East European Review*, 35 (1956–7), 1–14; D. Obolensky, 'The Principles and Methods of Byzantine Diplomacy', *Actes du XII^e Congrès des études byzantines* (Belgrade 1963–4), iii, 45–61, repr. in his *Byzantium and the Slavs* (London 1971), 52–9; F. Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy* (Washington, DC, 1966), ii, 611–58; H. Ahrweiler, *L'Idéologie politique de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris 1975), 136–47.

Constantinople and removing John VI Kantakouzenos (1347–54) from power. Francesco was granted the hand in marriage of the emperor's sister Maria and as her dowry he received the island of Lesbos, more commonly known at that time by the name of its capital Mytilene. Francesco and his descendants continued to rule there for more than a century, acquiring further islands and ports on the European and Asian mainland, most notably the Thracian town of Ainos, where a subsidiary Gattilusio lordship was established. Their regime was finally dissolved by a sustained Ottoman onslaught in the aftermath of the fall of Constantinople, which culminated in the conquest of Lesbos in 1462.²

The role of Byzantine legitimacy as a foundation for the power of these lordships offers a significant insight into the ways in which the legacy of the united civilization of the Aegean before 1204 could still influence the development of the fragmented world that succeeded it. It reveals the continuing scope for a Byzantium whose material capacities were acutely diminished to continue to shape the surrounding world through its ideological inheritance. This was a fresh expression of an old pattern, characteristic of a state whose reputation and pretensions had long since extended beyond the reach of its practical power, a dichotomy which grew more pronounced as the empire's strength dwindled. Yet, while the relationship between Byzantium and the Gattilusio lordships thus reveals continuities from the era of Byzantine dominance, it also illustrates how much Byzantine government had changed by the later Palaiologan period, moving away from the institutionally elaborate unitary autocracy of earlier centuries towards a mode of government increasingly typified by devolved authority and personal connections. In this way Byzantium itself was progressively becoming more typical of the fragmented political environment in which it now operated. This was an environment characterized by diffuse networks of power and influence which often overlapped and bound satellite rulers only loosely to their putative overlords.

A considerable body of evidence attests to the desire of the Gattilusio lords to advertise their affiliation with the empire and the Palaiologan dynasty. The most prominent physical manifestations of Gattilusio rule were the fortifications and other structures they erected in their territories and the inscriptions these bore give a clear impression of the conception of their government they wished to convey to onlookers. On stone plaques set into the walls of their constructions and on the slabs of sarcophagi are images which clearly emphasize the family's Byzantine connections, primarily the Palaiologos monogram and the imperial dynasty's emblem of a cross surrounded by

² For an overview, see W. Miller, 'The Gattilusj of Lesbos (1355–1462)', *BZ* 22 (1913), 406–47, repr. in his *Essays on the Latin Orient* (London, 1921; Amsterdam, 1964), 313–53; G. T. Dennis, 'The Short Chronicle of Lesbos 1355–1428', *Λεσβιακά*, 5 (1965), 3–22, repr. in his *Byzantium and the Franks 1350–1420* (London, 1982), no. I.

four *betas* (Pl. 7, Fig. 20).³ Other inscriptions from Lesbos bear the monograms of the emperor Manuel II (1391–1425) and his brother Theodore, one precisely matching a plaque from Byzantine Lemnos.⁴ Apart from their ducats, which were closely modelled on those of Venice, almost all of the extant coins minted by the Gattilusio likewise bear symbols acknowledging imperial authority, usually the cross and four *betas* on one face of the coin. A few coin types carry verbal recognition of the emperor.⁵

This symbolism clearly suggests an acknowledgment of imperial sovereignty, akin to that displayed by the Genoese colony at Pera.⁶ For a Latin regime seeking to control a Greek populace a display of deference to the empire could help to offset the potential for conflict inherent in foreign rule and exacerbated by religious controversy. For the Gattilusio such display could have a further beneficial effect, proclaiming not only the supreme authority of the emperor but their own close association with him, founded on Francesco's marriage into the imperial house.

The Gattilusio may have had the affirmation of this personal bond in mind when displaying imperial insignia; they surely did so when they made use of imagery and terminology explicitly linking the two families. Instances of this begin to appear from the 1420s. Plaques asserted the familial connection in heraldic terms, displaying shields which combined the four *betas* with the pattern of scales that constituted the Gattilusio arms (Pls. 7–8, Figs. 21–2).⁷ Another compound symbol was the depiction of an imperial double-headed eagle with a shield bearing the Gattilusio arms on its chest (Pl. 8, Fig. 23).⁸ Around the same time the compound surname 'Palaiologos Gattilusio' began

³ See also F. W. Hasluck, 'Monuments of the Gattalusi', *Annual of the British School of Archaeology*, 15 (1908–9), 248–69; C. Asdracha, 'Inscriptions de la Thrace orientale et de l'île d'Imbros (XII^e–XV^e siècles)', *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον*, 43 (1988), 251–86; C. Asdracha and C. Bakirtzis, 'Inscriptions byzantines de Thrace (VIII^e–XV^e siècles): Édition et commentaire historique', *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον*, 35 (1980), 241–82; E. A. Ivison, 'Funerary Monuments of the Gattalusi at Mitylene', *Annual of the British School of Archaeology*, 87 (1992), 423–37; A. Conze, *Reise auf der Insel Lesbos* (Hanover, 1865); idem, *Reise auf den Inseln des Thrakischen Meeres* (Hanover, 1860); A. Mazarakis, 'Συμβολή στην εραλδική των αναμνηστικών και επιταφίων πλαχών της περιόδου των Γατελούζων στη Μυτιλήνη', *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον*, 53 (1998), 361–86.

⁴ Mazarakis, 'Συμβολή στην εραλδική', pls. 113a, 113b; Conze, *Thrakischen Meeres*, pl. 3, no. 3.

⁵ S. Kofopoulos and A. Mazarakis, 'I Gattilusio: Revisioni genealogiche e numismatiche', in A. Mazarakis (ed.), *Πρακτικά Συνεδρίου "Οι Γατελούζοι της Λέσβου"* 9–11 Σεπτεμβρίου 1994 *Μυτιλήνη* (Athens, 1996), 411–32; G. Lunardi, *Le monete delle colonie Genovesi* (Genoa, 1980); E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, '"Immo verius sub ducati Venetiarum communis proprio stigmatibus": la question des émissions d'or de Francesco I^{er} Gattilusio, seigneur de Metelino (1355–1384)', *RN* 160 (2004), 229–30.

⁶ N. Oikonomides, 'The Byzantine Overlord of Genoese Possessions in Romania', in C. Dendrinos et al. (eds.), *Porphyrogenita: Essays on Byzantine History, in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides* (Aldershot, 2003), 235–8.

⁷ Hasluck, 'Monuments', 255, 264; Mazarakis, 'Συμβολή στην εραλδική', 382–3 (no. 15, pl. 117b); Asdracha, 'Inscriptions de la Thrace', 261–4, 282–4 (nos. 32–3, 46, pls. 112b, 118b).

⁸ Hasluck, 'Monuments', 258; Mazarakis, 'Συμβολή στην εραλδική', 382 (no. 14, pl. 117a).

to appear in the dynasty's inscriptions.⁹ These symbolic combinations appear to have been introduced by the third generation of Gattilusio lords, perhaps reflecting the fact that they, unlike the founders of the family fortunes, were not merely linked to the Palaiologan dynasty by marriage but members of it at one remove, with the blood of emperors in their veins. Such innovations would imply that the importance attributed to their Byzantine connections by the Gattilusio had not dwindled as the decades passed and they consolidated their position; instead, if anything, it had increased.

This enduring attachment is reflected in their desire to renew and reinforce the dynastic link with further marital ties. By 1397 a granddaughter of Francesco I of Mitylene (1355–84) had married the emperor John VII (1390), the grandson of John V.¹⁰ In 1441 the daughter of Dorino of Mitylene (1426/8–55) married the despot Constantine Dragas, the future emperor Constantine XI (1449–53).¹¹ This marriage is particularly striking in that it came at a time when incipient Ottoman hegemony was looming over the region. Whereas Byzantium was a prime target of Ottoman aggression, the Genoese had long enjoyed better relations with the sultans than virtually any other Christian group, enthusiastically pursuing mutually beneficial economic and military partnerships and attracting considerable criticism for their profitable acts of collusion.¹² For the Gattilusio, whose territories and interests were acutely vulnerable to the Turkish menace, the best prospects for survival in an environment dominated by the Ottomans might have appeared to lie in emphasizing their own Genoese identity and obscuring their Byzantine affiliations. The decision to take the risk of contracting a new marriage alliance with a Palaiologos, and indeed the member of that family which was most conspicuous for its defiance of the Ottomans in this period, therefore, is testimony to the premium the Gattilusio continued to place on their relationship with the imperial dynasty.¹³

⁹ Hasluck, 'Monuments', 254, 258; Asdracha, 'Inscriptions de la Thrace', 264–7 (no. 34, pl. 113b); Asdracha and Bakirtzis, 'Inscriptions Byzantines', 271–3 (no. 30, pl. 76b); Conze, *Thrakischen Meeres*, pl. 3, no. 8.

¹⁰ S. P. Lampros, 'Ιωάννου Ζ Παλαιολόγου ἐγχώρησις τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς βυζαντινικῆς αὐτοκρατορίας δικαιωμάτων εἰς τὸν Βασιλέα τῆς Γαλλίας Κάρολον σ', *Neos Hellinonimion*, 10 (1913), 248–51.

¹¹ George Sphrantzes, *Georgii Sphrantzae Chronicon*, ed. Riccardo Maisano, CFHB 29 (Rome 1990), 88.

¹² Doukas, *Ducal Istoria Turco-Bizantina (1341–1462)*, ed. and tr. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1958), 204–11, 222–7, 242–5; E. Basso, 'Genovesi e Turchi nell'Egeo medievale: Murad II e la "Societas Folie Nove"', *Quaderni Medievali*, 36 (1993), 31–52; idem, *Genova* (Cagliari, 1994), 285–9 (no. 4); K. Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade in the Early Ottoman State* (Cambridge, 1999), 127–9; K. M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)* (Philadelphia, 1976–84), ii, 89, 119–21; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (future Pius II), *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*, ed. R. Wolkan (Vienna, 1909), 562–79 (no. 192); P. Petrone, *Miscellanea Historica* (Milan, 1738), 1128. See also chapter by Abulafia in this volume.

¹³ Laonikos Chalkokondyles, *Laonici Chalcocondylae Atheniensis Historiarum de Origine ac Rebus Gestis Turcorum*, ed. I. Bekker, CSFB 45 (Bonn, 1843), 318–9; George Sphrantzes,

Of course, the Gattilusio acquired considerable prestige in the world at large from this Byzantine association, but such status seems unlikely to have been their sole motivation, or perhaps even their principal one. A more important consideration may have been its significance for their claim to the right to rule and thus to the loyalty of their subjects. A territorial grant established their position in law, but membership of the extended family of the emperor conferred a more visceral kind of legitimacy, gaining them admission to the group from which former imperial subjects would expect their rightful rulers to come.

It is notable that the Gattilusio never laid claim to any honorific title in either the Byzantine or the western aristocratic hierarchies, continuing to be known simply as 'lords' of the territories they ruled. This contrasts with the grandiloquence of Martino Zaccaria, the Genoese lord of Chios, who accepted the title of 'King and Despot of Asia Minor' from the titular Latin Emperor of Constantinople.¹⁴ In the absence of such formal assertions of status, the Gattilusio lords' affiliation to the imperial dynasty must have been their regime's prime source of dignity and symbolic authority.

Such an approach to authority would have been characteristic of the Genoese society from which the Gattilusio originated, in which extended familial clans were fundamental to political organization.¹⁵ It is also suggestive of the changing forms of power in Byzantium in its final decades. The Palaiologoi had ruled the empire for almost a century before Francesco's rule in Mitylene began and had already reached their fifth generation of emperors, giving them a firm grip on dynastic legitimacy. Since the time of the Komnenoi the empire had increasingly become a family concern and close connection to the emperor by blood or marriage was a key qualification for a position of power.¹⁶ Under the Palaiologoi this family government acquired an increasingly territorial character, with imperial relatives governing 'appanage' territories in lieu of the emperor himself, as Anna of Savoy, Manuel II, John VII and Andronikos Palaiologos did at various times in Thessalonica, Matthew Kantakouzenos and John V at Didymoteichon, Andronikos IV and John VII in Selymbria, or a profusion of princes who at some point held part or all of the Byzantine territory in the Morea.¹⁷ With close kinship with the

Chronicon, 90–3, 98–9; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, ii. 70, 72, 96–7; D. M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium 1261–1453* (London, 1972), 362–5, 374–5.

¹⁴ Basso, 'Zaccaria', 58; *idem*, *Impero*, 45–6.

¹⁵ J. Heers, *Family Clans in the Middle Ages*, tr. B. Herbert (Amsterdam, 1977), 11–2, 78–82, 156–61, 170–3, 231–2, 234–7; *idem*, *Gênes au XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1961), 564–76.

¹⁶ M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire 1025–1204* (Harlow and New York, 1997, 2nd edn.), 128–9, 136–7, 146–56; P. Magdalino, 'Innovations in Government', in M. Mullet and D. Smythe (eds.), *Alexios I Komnenos* (Belfast, 1996), 147–53.

¹⁷ J. W. Barker, 'The Problem of Appanages in Byzantium during the Palaeologan Period', *Byzantina*, 3 (1971), 105–22; *idem*, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425)* (New Brunswick,

emperor becoming virtually a qualification for territorial authority, from the Byzantine point of view the cession of territory to the Gattilusio could be seen as merely a variation on normal governmental practice.

The changing nature of the Byzantine idea of power and status in the Palaiologan era is also illuminated by the failure to assign the Gattilusio a place in the empire's ancient system of honorific titles. For centuries it had been usual for relatives of the emperor, senior governmental officials, and foreign client rulers to be granted titles and offices which defined their standing in the court hierarchy.¹⁸ At least as late as the early fourteenth century, this practice continued to be applied to the empire's Latin auxiliaries. Roger de Flor, commander of the Catalan Grand Company, had married the niece of Andronikos II (1282–1328) and was named first *megas doux*, later caesar.¹⁹ Around the same time Andrea Moresco, like Francesco Gattilusio a Genoese pirate who had become a Byzantine client and who was installed by Andronikos II as lord of Karpathos, Kassos, and nearby islands, was granted the title of *vestiarios* before being appointed admiral.²⁰ From whatever perspective the relationship of the Gattilusio lords with the empire is regarded, whether as relations, representatives of imperial authority, or foreign client rulers, according to tradition they should have received court titles as a matter of course.

Of course, one could argue that the Gattilusio, originating outside the Byzantine sphere in a period when Byzantine prestige was severely depleted, might not have set much store by its marks of distinction, and not made much use of any titles that they were given. However, it seems clear that they did not in fact receive titles at all, since they were not used even in formal communications from Byzantine correspondents. This is shown by Byzantine letter protocols dating from the time of Francesco II of Mitylene (1384–1403), which address him simply as lord of Mitylene and the emperor's 'ἀνεψιός' (cousin), and his uncle Niccolò as lord of Ainos and the emperor's 'συνπένθερος' (relative by marriage).²¹ The failure of the Byzantines to emphasize the continued imperial grasp on the Gattilusio lords and their territories by

N], 1969), pp. xxiii, 9–10, 29, 40–4, 272–3, 346–7, 346–7; Nicol, *Last Centuries*, 230–1, 237–8, 282–3, 291–2, 322–3, 339, 370.

¹⁸ N. Oikonomides, *Les Listes de préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles* (Paris, 1972), *passim*; J. B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century* (London, 1911), *passim*; Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des Offices*, ed. and French tr. J. Verpeaux (Paris, 1966), *passim*; P. Lemerle, 'Roga et rente d'état aux X^e–XI^e siècles', *REB* 25 (1967), 77–100; M. Whittow, *The Making of Orthodox Byzantium, 600–1025* (Basingstoke, 1996), 107–11, 217, 296, 308; Obo-lensky, 'Principles and Methods', 58; Ostrogorsky, 'Byzantine Emperor', 5–6.

¹⁹ Ramon Muntaner, *Crònica*, ed. E. Barcino (Barcelona, 1927–52), ii. 41–2; George Pachymeres, *Relations Historiques*, ed. Albert Failler, CFHB 24 (Paris, 1984–2000), iv. 432–3, 570–1.

²⁰ Pachymeres, *Relations Historiques*, iv. 542–3, 606–7, 624–7.

²¹ S. P. Lampros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos* (Cambridge, 1895–1900), ii. 304–5 (no. 5658/41).

placing them formally within the empire's hierarchy is a striking indication of changing Byzantine attitudes to power and status. The status of the Gattilusio in Byzantine eyes was seemingly defined entirely in terms of their territorial holdings and of their dynastic bonds with the Palaiologoi. No place needed to be assigned to them in the administrative and social structures centred on the capital and palace which had always formed the framework of Byzantine autocracy, an expression of the displacement of those structures by new forms of government during the empire's final century.

All such associations and marks of Byzantine endorsement and integration into the structures of imperial authority were only significant for the government of the Gattilusio lordships in so far as they had a genuine effect on the sentiments and behaviour of the people they ruled. Doubts may be entertained as to how much the legitimacy the Gattilusio gained from Byzantium was really worth. Greek populations elsewhere had come to terms with their subjection to Latin regimes which had been established by conquest and bore no imperial imprimatur.²² The diminished empire no longer enjoyed the prestige it once had and one may reasonably query how much weight the attitude of the emperor in Constantinople would still carry with Greeks in lands which had been placed beyond his direct control.

However, events in the eastern Aegean in the mid-fourteenth century suggested that in this particular environment the threat of Greek hostility to Latin rule and loyalty to the emperor could not lightly be set aside. The decades preceding Francesco Gattilusio's appearance on the scene had been marked by a succession of conspiracies, revolts, and attacks on Latin rulers from the Greek populace and local elites. In 1319 the Greeks of Leros had massacred the Hospitaller garrison of the island and proclaimed their allegiance to the emperor.²³ In 1329 the Greeks of Chios invited the emperor to expel their Genoese lord Martino Zaccaria, and prepared a revolt when imperial forces arrived to regain the island for Byzantium.²⁴ In 1340 the Greek population of Phokaia had brought the rule of the Cattaneo family to an end by massacring the city's Genoese inhabitants and restoring imperial

²² D. Jacoby, 'The Encounter of Two Societies: Western Conquerors and Byzantines in the Peloponnesus after the Fourth Crusade', *American Historical Review*, 78 (1973), 873–906; idem, 'Social Evolution in Latin Greece', *A History of the Crusades*, gen. ed. K. M. Setton, 6 vols. (Madison, Wis., 1969–89), vi. 175–221; P. Topping, 'Co-existence of Greeks and Latins in Frankish Morea and Venetian Crete', *XVI^e Congrès international d'études byzantines, i. Histoire Rapports* (Athens, 1976), 3–23, repr. in his *Studies on Latin Greece A.D. 1205–1715* (London, 1977), no. XI.

²³ J. Delaville le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes (1310–1421)* (Paris, 1913; repr. London, 1974), 365–7.

²⁴ John Kantakouzenos, *Imperatoris Historiarum Libri IV*, ed. L. Schopen, CSHB (Bonn, 1828–32), i. 370–91; Nikephoros Gregoras, *Historiae Byzantinae*, ed. I. Bekker and L. Schopen, CSHB (Bonn, 1829–55), i. 438–9.

control.²⁵ Even after the civil wars and Serb invasions of the 1340s had crippled the Byzantine state the Greeks of the eastern Aegean continued to resist Latin rule in the empire's name.²⁶ Following the 1346 seizure of Chios by the Genoese the metropolitan led a conspiracy to expel the conquerors in conjunction with an attack led by the island's former governor, while in 1347 there was a rebellion on Nisyros against the Hospitallers' Arangio feudatories.²⁷ Popular and elite resistance to Latin rule remained a potent and dangerous force in the region, even in the absence of inflammatory policies such as severe religious repression or the indiscriminate expropriation of land.²⁸

The timing of these uprisings may also be significant. The Zaccaria family had governed Greek populations in Phokaia and Chios without apparent acrimony for more than half a century under an imperial mandate. Their subjects were only moved to unrest in the later 1320s after Martino Zaccaria turned his back on Byzantium and embraced the phantom Latin Empire of Constantinople.²⁹ Having retaken Chios in 1329 the Byzantines confirmed the legitimacy of the Cattaneo regime in Phokaia; it was only after the conflict of 1335–6, when Domenico Cattaneo tried to seize Lesbos, that the Greeks of Phokaia turned on their Genoese rulers.³⁰ Similarly, the efforts of the Greeks to drive the Genoese from Chios and Phokaia after the conquest of 1346 appear to have come to an end after Genoese rule there was approved by John V in 1355.³¹

There is therefore circumstantial evidence that local Greek hostility to Latin overlords was not simply a matter of cultural and religious antagonism or the grievances of those excluded from power by the Latins, but was substantially influenced by the nature of the relations between a Latin regime and the Byzantine empire. This apparent correspondence may be coincidental, but it seems likely that the imperial imprimatur rendered Latin rulers substantially more acceptable to the Greeks of this region. The cautionary example

²⁵ Nikephoros Gregoras, *Historiae*, i. 553.

²⁶ Nicol, *Last Centuries*, 185–254.

²⁷ John Kantakouzenos, *Historiarum*, iii. 83–5; L. Liagre-de Sturler, *Les Relations commerciales entre Gênes, la Belgique et l'Outremont* (Brussels and Rome, 1969), i. 287–8 (no. 222); P. Argenti, *The Occupation of Chios by the Genoese and their Administration of the Island 1346–1566* (Cambridge, 1958), i. 652–4; M. Balard, *La Romanie Génoise (XI^e–début du XV^e siècle)* (Rome, 1978), 125–6; National Library of Malta, Valetta, Archives of the Order of Malta 317, fo. 240^r.

²⁸ A. Luttrell, 'The Greeks of Rhodes under Hospitaller Rule: 1306–1421', *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*, ns. 29 (1992), 193–223, repr. in A. Luttrell, *The Hospitaller State on Rhodes and its Western Provinces* (Aldershot, 1999), no. III at 207–17; Argenti, *Occupation of Chios*, i. 99–100, 569–76, 652.

²⁹ E. Basso, 'Gli Zaccaria', *Dibattito su famiglie nobili del mondo coloniale genovese nel Levante*, ed. G. Pistarino (Genoa, 1994), 46–71; Argenti, *Occupation*, i. 54–68.

³⁰ Nikephoros Gregoras, *Historiae*, i. 525–35; John Kantakouzenos, *Historiarum*, i. 476–95.

³¹ Argenti, *Occupation*, ii. 173–7.

provided by the collapse of previous Genoese dynastic domains in the region and the recent upheavals suffered by the Genoese of Chios must have impressed upon the Gattiluso the value of the connection forged between Francesco and John V and the importance of maintaining and advertising it.

It is difficult to assess with any confidence how far Gattiluso efforts in this regard actually affected the attitude of their subjects but there are indications that relations were generally amicable. For instance, Manuel Kalekas remarked in a letter of 1404 that following his open adoption of Catholicism and emigration to Lesbos he had been beleaguered by local Greeks asking him to teach their children.³² The eagerness of these people to entrust their children to the instruction of a Catholic convert implies that sectarian tensions were not running at a high pitch under this Latin regime. No surviving source refers to any unrest in any of the Gattiluso territories as long as the empire lasted. The one recorded Greek revolt against the family occurred in 1456 on Lemnos, three years after the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans. This was a recently acquired territory where the Gattiluso had had no opportunity to consolidate their position and build up familiarity with their rule while the empire still existed to lend its aura of legitimacy.³³

A regime which bolsters its own legitimacy by drawing on the authority of another relies to some extent on that power's goodwill. If the Byzantine connection was indeed a major prop of the Gattiluso regime, this created a significant incentive for the Gattiluso themselves to remain on good terms with the empire. Relations between the Gattiluso lords and the reigning emperor were not always cordial, particularly when the Gattiluso aligned themselves with the losing side in the internal Palaiologan disputes of the late fourteenth century.³⁴ In an era when members of the imperial dynasty so often went to war with one another, such ructions with individual emperors were only to be expected, but an open and sustained breakdown in relations was to be avoided. This pressure to remain within the Byzantine fold and the leverage which it gave the empire over the Gattiluso may help to explain the original decision of John V to grant Lesbos to Francesco as part of a larger pattern of imperial policy in the Aegean.

Of course, such an interpretation of the establishment of the Gattiluso regime is only viable if its creation was at least in part the product of John V's own volition, rather than an unwilling concession imposed upon him by his immediate circumstances in 1354 as he tried to wrest power back from John VI

³² Manuel Kalekas, *Correspondance de Manuel Calecas*, ed. R.-J. Loenertz (Vatican, 1950), 297–303 (no. 86).

³³ Doukas, *Istoria*, 418–23.

³⁴ Ignatios of Smolensk, 'Journey to Constantinople', in *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. G. P. Majeska (Washington, DC, 1984), 102–3; Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, *Embajada a Tamorlán*, ed. F. López Estrada (Madrid, 1943), 25–8.

Kantakouzenos. One could argue that the cession of Lesbos was rather the result of Francesco's own initiative: the extraction of a heavy price for his assistance to a desperate emperor. However, this view depends on the belief that Francesco was in a position to dictate terms to John and demand the island as his reward, even though, in fact, it represented a very substantial proportion of the territories remaining to the truncated empire. But, by all accounts, John commanded significant forces besides those provided by Francesco. According to the historian Doukas, Francesco commanded two galleys, but he claims that the force that entered the city numbered some 2,000 men, several times more than could have been accommodated on these vessels.³⁵ According to Giorgio Stella and Nikephoros Gregoras, Francesco had only one galley, while Gregoras also states that John came to Constantinople with two large triremes and sixteen monoremes.³⁶ Even if Donald Nicol's contention that Francesco was not even present at the seizure of Constantinople is dismissed, John's enterprise was surely still viable without such an ally, even if the quality of the other troops he commanded was perhaps less impressive than that of Francesco's men.³⁷

In any case, in the lawless and lucrative environment of the fourteenth-century Aegean, adventurous opportunists commanding resources on a similar scale to Francesco's were hardly a rarity, and in his position astride the greatest bottleneck for shipping in the entire eastern Mediterranean John was perfectly placed to encounter and recruit such men. It seems unlikely that he would have been unable to find a freebooter willing to assist him for a more modest reward than Francesco received. John does not even appear to have been under any intense pressure of time. Since John V's arrival on Tenedos the only attempt that an increasingly unpopular and dispirited John Kantakouzenos had made to avert the looming attack was an abortive effort to sue for peace.³⁸

This leaves us with the supposition that John established Francesco in Lesbos voluntarily and for his own reasons, as a response to the problems of government that confronted him. The service Francesco provided in assisting the coup may have been important less as a *quid pro quo* for the grant of the island than as the foundation of a personal relationship and a demonstration of his talents and potential usefulness. John's empire was undoubtedly weak and was experiencing difficulty holding the territories that remained to it. In the absence of an effective navy the defence of the islands was particularly problematic. Their proximity to the Anatolian shore rendered them obvious targets for seaborne Turkish raids, which were a serious menace in the

³⁵ Doukas, *Istoria*, 67–9.

³⁶ Nikephoros Gregoras, *Historiae*, iii. 241–2; Giorgio and Giovanni Stella, *Annales Genueses*, ed. L. A. Muratori (Milan 1730), 154.

³⁷ D. M. Nicol, 'The Abdication of John VI Cantacuzene', *BF* 2 (1967), 275–80.

³⁸ John Kantakouzenos, *Historiarum*, iii. 282–3.

fourteenth century.³⁹ More worryingly, the islands had come under sustained pressure from the Genoese. Benedetto II Zaccaria's attempt to regain Chios in 1329 and the Cattaneo attack on Lesbos in 1335 had been repulsed, but the Genoese expedition of 1346 had taken Chios and Phokaia and come close to attacking Lesbos.⁴⁰ By placing Francesco in charge of Lesbos John could deflect the aggressive ambitions of other Genoese. A ruler on the spot with access to the naval resources and expertise of the Italian maritime powers might also be better able to defend the island from Turks and other predators than the imperial government.

Such an approach would accord with a wider pattern of Byzantine policy over the preceding decades. The deterioration of the empire's centralized administration, the wide dispersal of its territories, and the difficulty of retaining them encouraged devolution of responsibilities onto local rulers. This included not only the distribution of 'appanages' to members of the imperial family but also grants of territory to other individuals, particularly Latins, under terms which gave them greater latitude than an imperial governor. In the Aegean islands and on the Anatolian shore Genoese captains appear to have been the preferred choice for such responsibilities, as the empire strove to turn their aggressive energies to its advantage. For decades emperors had been entrusting maritime territories to Genoese lords on various terms, beginning with the establishment of the Zaccaria lordship in Phokaia, and perhaps one under Giovanni del Cavo in Rhodes in the 1270s, and continuing in the 1300s with the (albeit not entirely voluntary) lease of Chios to the Zaccaria, the grant of Karpathos, Kassos, and other islands to Andrea and Lodovico Moresco, and probably that of Kos and Leros to Vignolo de Vignoli.⁴¹ Significantly, this practice had begun in the days of Michael VIII (1259–82), when Byzantium was still a force to be reckoned with in the Aegean, suggesting that John V's behaviour was not purely a product of the abject condition of the empire under his rule but a continuation of an approach to policy which had originated when the empire enjoyed greater freedom of action.

³⁹ Ibid., ii. 387; Nikephoros Gregoras, *Historiae*, i. 207; E. A. Zachariadou, 'Holy War in the Aegean during the Fourteenth Century', in B. Arbel et al. (eds.), *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204* (London, 1989), 212–25.

⁴⁰ Nikephoros Gregoras, *Historiae*, i. 525–35; John Kantakouzenos, *Historiarum*, i. 390–1, 476–95; R. Morozzo della Rocco, *Lettere di Mercanti a Pignol Zucchello (1336–1350)* (Venice, 1957), 68–71 (no. 34).

⁴¹ George Pachymeres, *Relations Historiques*, ii. 534–7; iv. 606–7; John Kantakouzenos, *Historiarum*, i. 370–1; *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum*, ed. G. M. Thomas and R. Predelli (Venice 1880–99), i. 128–32, 139–50, 154–64 (docs. 73, 77, 79); A. Ferretto, *Codice diplomatico delle relazioni fra la Liguria, la Toscana e la Lunigiana ai tempi di Dante: 1265–1321* (Rome 1901–3), ii. 244–6 n. 1; Marino Sanudo, 'Istoria del Regno di Romania', *Chroniques Greco-Romanes, inédites ou peu connues*, ed. K. Hopf (Berlin, 1873), 132, 146; A. Luttrell, 'The Genoese at Rhodes: 1306–1312', in L. Balletto (ed.), *Oriente e Occidente tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna: Studi in onore di Geo Pistarino* (Genoa, 1997), 737–61, repr. in his *Hospitaller State on Rhodes*, no. I at 740–4.

Such arrangements would only be worthwhile if these local rulers remained loyal to the empire, acknowledging the supremacy of its rulers and upholding its interests. At least some of the earlier concessions of territory had been conditional, requiring periodic renewal, the performance of military service, or other legally binding obligations. In the case of the Gattilusio no such formal conditions are attested. Since it can be demonstrated that in 1357 John V granted Thasos, Christoupolis, and Anactoropolis unconditionally to the brothers Alexios and John and their heirs, it is not implausible that Francesco should have received Lesbos on similar terms.⁴² If so, the establishment of a personal bond by marriage and the leverage which the empire could exert through its legitimizing role would seem to be the only means by which Byzantium could keep the Gattilusio within its orbit and derive some benefit from the arrangement. If John V had deliberately ceded Lesbos to Francesco in order to preserve some sort of Byzantine hold over an island which might otherwise soon be lost outright, his hopes of doing so must have depended heavily on such influences.

The earlier conditional grants of territory to Genoese individuals had tended to end badly: the Zaccaria and their clients the Cattaneo had turned against the empire, as had Vignolo de Vignoli.⁴³ By contrast, the Gattilusio appear to have preserved their links with the empire until the end, in spite of upsets along the way. How far the empire actually benefited from this enduring association is more dubious. It did ensure that imperial sovereignty continued to be visibly acknowledged in the territories which came under Gattilusio control. Given the importance ascribed to this sort of recognition in the Byzantine tradition, such symbolic concerns cannot be dismissed as completely negligible. More mundane benefits to the empire are harder to find in the sources. There is no evidence that any revenues from the Gattilusio lordships found their way into imperial coffers. The Gattilusio are known to have contributed military forces to a number of enterprises undertaken by the empire or in defence of its interests from the 1350s to the 1440s, but these are less conspicuous than their attested contributions to Genoese expeditions, or indeed to the personal schemes of John VII.⁴⁴ There is no evidence of the

⁴² *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, ii. 166–7 (doc. 98); V. Kravari, *Actes du Pantocrator* (Paris, 1991), 99–102, 106–8 (nos. 10–11); P. Lemerle *et al.*, *Actes de Lavra* (Paris, 1970–82), iii. 71–2 (no. 137).

⁴³ Luttrell, 'Genoese at Rhodes', 745–7.

⁴⁴ Matteo Villani, *Cronica*, ed. G. Porta (Parma, 1995), ii. 96–7; Nikephoros Gregoras, *Historiae*, iii. 559–66; Jehan Servion, *Geste et Croniques de la Maison de Savoye*, ed. F.-E. Bollati (Turin, 1879), ii. 135–9, 143, 156; Pero Tafur, *Andanças e Viajes de Pero Tafur por Diversas Partes del Mundo Avidos (1435–1439)*, ed. J. M. Ramos (Madrid, 1934), 121, 129–30, 143; Sphrantzes, *Chronicon*, 88; Jean le Maingre Boucicaut, *Le Livre des Fais du Bon Messire Jehan le Maingre, dit Bouciquaut, Mareschal de France et Gouverneur de Jennes*, ed. D. Lalande (Geneva, 1985), 219–21, 282; Giorgio and Giovanni Stella, *Annales Genuenses*, 304–6; 378; J. Valentini, *Acta Albaniae Veneta: Saeculorum XIV et XV* (Rome, 1967–79), vii. 69–71, 74–6

Gattiluso lordships giving assistance to the empire when it faced its final crisis in 1453. It is therefore arguable that in material terms the legitimization of Gattiluso rule was of serious benefit only to the family themselves and their compatriots, not to Byzantium.

However, such a diagnosis of failure appears to contradict the assessment of the empire's rulers themselves. During the fifteenth century the Gattiluso acquired the islands of Thasos and Samothrake and the castle of Kotzinos on Lemnos from the empire.⁴⁵ The manner in which these territories changed hands is unclear. However, the amicable relations detectable between the Gattiluso and the Palaiologoi in the mid-fifteenth century hardly seem compatible with the sort of consistent aggression necessary to secure them by force.⁴⁶ It seems more likely that their transfer was in some manner consensual, and in that case it would indicate that in the eyes of the Byzantines their policy towards the Gattiluso had been a success, and one that merited replication elsewhere as the empire's condition grew more desperate. Had they regarded the grant of Lesbos to the Gattiluso as a failure it is unlikely that they would have chosen to extend the experiment. The family kept their lands safe and prosperous under the sovereignty of the emperor, maintained firm personal links with their imperial relatives, and provided help from time to time. In a beleaguered and increasingly decentralized empire this was perhaps as much as could be expected of any of its local representatives.

The concession of territories to the Gattiluso is thus illustrative both of the weakness of a Byzantine state driven to such expedients and the distinctive resources still available to this deposed hegemon. Throughout Byzantine history the reach of the empire's symbolic authority had tended to exceed that of its material power. As its financial and military resources crumbled, a residue of this authority persisted as one of the last remaining means by which it could influence others. Even as late as the fifteenth century, even in a region which had long since slipped beyond the control of Constantinople, the Latin rulers of Epiros were still eager to legitimize their rule by securing the title of despot from the Byzantine emperor.⁴⁷ In lands more closely linked to the

(nos. 1821, 1823); A. Luxuro and G. Pinelli-Gentile, 'Documenti riguardanti alcuni dinasti dell'Arcipelago, pubblicati per saggio di studi paleografici', *Giornale Ligustico di archeologia, storia e belle arti*, 2 (1875), 86–93 (nos. 11–18); Ignatios, 'Journey to Constantinople', 102–3; Clavijo, *Embajada*, 25–8.

⁴⁵ Asdracha and Bakirtzis, 'Inscriptions byzantines', 271–3 (no. 30, pl. 76b); Conze, *Thra-kischen Meeres*, pl. 3, no. 4; Asdracha, 'Inscriptions de Thrace', 282–4 (no. 46, pl. 118b); Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. 6215, fo. 197^v, extracts published by Hopf, 'Estratti degli Annali Veneti', 199.

⁴⁶ Tafur, *Andanças e Viajes*, 121, 129–30, 143; Sphrantzes, *Chronicon*, 88–9; T. Ganchou, 'Helena Notara Gatelousaina d'Ainos et le Sankt Peterburg Bibl. Pub. Gr. 243', *REB* 56 (1998), 141–68.

⁴⁷ D. M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros 1267–1479* (Cambridge, 1984), 95–6, 183.

imperial city, such legitimation could still form a firm foundation for Latin rule while durably binding its recipients to Byzantium.

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‘New Wine in Old Skins’? Crusade Literature and Crusading in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Later Middle Ages

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Crusading in the eastern Mediterranean in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries presents a picture so diffuse as to defy easy generalization. From Italy to Syria, the Crimea to Egypt, international relations were conditioned by conquest, indigenous political rivalries, and trade not holy war. The contacts between peoples and powers were the product of generations, in some cases centuries, of human, commercial, and cultural exchange. For much of the time in many regions, communities and principalities formally separated by religion shared or competed for territory, resources, or markets. The rhetoric from western interest groups turned to the familiar, even comforting certainties of the crusading past, while their actions were as easily determined by wholly other, more mundane or profane considerations. The series of frontlines between Christendom and Islam often proved porous and indistinct. Even the unity of crusade purpose and ideology failed to match the actions of its adherents or the practicalities which their policies were supposed to address. Yet men still fought and died under banners of the Cross in the eastern Mediterranean. Funds were still elicited or forced from the faithful in western Europe for wars in the east on explicitly crusading prospectuses. The self-image of the aristocratic elites could still be expressed and satisfied in secular orders of chivalry and active participation in explicitly chivalric military enterprises, from attacks on Muslim ports around the Mediterranean to battering innocent natives on the Canary Islands. However, the gap between idealism and action points to discontinuities, not just in the politics of the Mediterranean region but in the way traditional crusading concepts were presented and understood. What in recent years has tended to be taken as evidence of continued vibrancy in crusading as a practical expression of

political necessity or chivalric ambition may demonstrate a decline into irrelevance as a tool of public policy.

Allowing for the obvious artificiality of the terms employed—‘crusading’, ‘eastern Mediterranean’, ‘later Middle Ages’—a broad outline of how the application of the institutions of the crusade were applied in the eastern Mediterranean reveals how different the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were. Inescapable partnerships of commerce and diplomacy, in essence not new, coloured even the most apparently old-fashioned expositions of the need for a new war to restore Jerusalem to Christendom, from the poetic panegyric on the Cypriot Levantine campaigns of the 1360s by Guillaume de Machaut (writing c. 1369–77) or the crusade advice of the Cretan Emmanuel Piloti (1441) and the Burgundian spy Bertrandon de la Brocquière (writing c. 1439–57), to the actual policies of Peter I of Cyprus (1359–69) or the Hospitallers of Rhodes. While the language and legalism of papal bulls spoke of the age of Innocent III, and writers on the eastern question liberally spiced their discussions with references to Godfrey de Bouillon and other crusading luminaries, crusade promoters acknowledged that times had changed. Jean Germain, Bishop of Chalons, for some years in the 1450s a leading coordinator of Burgundian crusade propaganda, referred, as if to antiquarian curios, to ‘the old expeditions and campaigns overseas that are called *croisiez*’.¹ Pope Pius II (1458–64), in his *Commentaries*, while describing the defenders of Belgrade as ‘Christian *crucesignati*’, invariably used less loaded terms, *bellum* or *expeditio*, for the proposed wars against the Turks.² Some later medieval wars involving Latin Christians, such as the attack on Alexandria (1365) or the defence of Belgrade (1456), were supported by parts or all of the apparatus of crusading: papal bull, preaching, vow, cross-taking, plenary indulgences, temporal financial and legal privileges, clerical taxation, popular donations and legacies, sale of indulgences, special prayers, processions, and masses. However, uncertainty surrounds others, from the Aegean Holy League of 1334 to the 1390 Franco-Genoese assault on Mahdia in North Africa or the 1396 Franco-Burgundian campaign on the Danube, that apparently lacked cross-taking and general preaching campaigns, despite many of the fiscal and penitential trappings of traditional crusading holy war.³

Some contemporary justifications of inter-faith wars were moving away from the twelfth-century emphasis on the holiness of divine command. Instead, certain fourteenth-century writers emphasized canonist theories of just war and universal papal jurisdiction over breaches of the ‘law of nature’ as

¹ Jean Germain, *Discours du Voyage d'Oultremer*, ed. C. Schefer, *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 3 (1895), 339.

² Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pius II), *Commentarii rerum memorabilium*, ed. M. Meserve and M. Simonetta (Cambridge, Mass., 2003–7), i. 134, 136, 160, 209, 264.

³ In general, N. Housley, *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades* (Oxford, 1986), esp. 23–36 and refs.; C. Tyerman, *God's War* (London, 2006), 851–8 and refs.

had been proposed by Innocent IV. Honoré Bouvet (or Bonet), in his *Tree of Battles* (1387) argued that Christians had no automatic right to make war on infidels, unless the pope acted to remedy offences against the law of nature, which seemed to include persecution of Christians resident in Muslim lands even where those lands had never previously been ruled by believers. Nor had the pope the right to issue indulgences for such conflicts except 'to recover the holy land of Jerusalem, which was gained by lawful conquest from Christians by the passion of Jesus Christ our Lord', a concession to the transcendent if metaphorical spiritual resonance of crusading that became increasingly more important than its military clout. Bouvet argued that campaigns to the Holy Land lacking papal consent were illegal although, on the just war grounds of dispossession, the heirs to the kingdom of Jerusalem were entitled to recover their heritage.⁴

The perception that Muslims possessed rights and that their expulsion from the Holy Land was based on law as much as faith, ran closely parallel with a theoretical acceptance that the new infidel threat of the Ottoman Turks was more complicated than simply a case of a demonic foe. Philippe de Mézières, often regarded as a diehard, old-fashioned crusade enthusiast, prefigured some fifteenth-century writers, including a number of humanist scholars, when, as well as citing classical exemplars, such as Scipio Africanus, he accepted the Turks as respectable and chivalrous, fellow descendants with the French of the Trojans, a fantasy in crusade literature as old as the First Crusade. In his great allegorical call to Christian reform and repentance, configured in the symbolic and actual importance of a crusade to recover the Holy Land, *Le Songe de Vieil Pèlerin* (1386–9), Mézières remarked: 'the Franks/French (*Francoys*) and the Turks, at the time of the destruction of Troy, were brothers . . . And because of this memory the Turks want to have great friendship with the Franks/French'.⁵ Earlier in *Le Songe*, Mézières pointedly underlined Turkish martial virtue in contrast to French moral corruption and decay: 'I call to witness Murad and the Turks, who through chivalry [*par chevalerie*, a phrase for some reason omitted from Coopland's translation] have conquered the empires of Constantinople and Bulgaria and the kingdom of Serbia and many lands'.⁶

This depiction of the Turks has been associated with a shift in how western European writers sought to construct the Turks as the defining 'other' to the,

⁴ Honoré Bonet (*recte* Bouvet), *The Tree of Battles*, tr. G. W. Coopland (Liverpool, 1949), part 4, ch. 2, 126–8; cf. for a general discussion of the canon law, J. Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers and Infidels* (Liverpool, 1979).

⁵ Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du Vieil Pèlerin* (Cambridge, 1969), i. 521–2 (for a Scipio ref.); ii. 427; cf. First Crusade text, *Gesta Francorum*, ed. R. Hill (London, 1962), 21. For Mézières in general, N. Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières (1327–1405) et la croisade au XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1896); J. Magee, 'Crusading at the Court of Charles VI 1388–96', *French History*, 12 (1998), 367–83.

⁶ Philippa de Mézières, *Songe*, i. 531; cf. tr. p. 425.

by the 1380s, obviously flawed Orthodox Christians.⁷ However, there was also a practical context which had rendered the old polemics redundant as well as anachronistic. Despite many writers' close contacts with courts in which crusade chatter flourished, most plans were scuppered by immediate and obvious political obstacles, such as the Hundred Years War that put paid to the elaborate schemes of Philip VI in the 1330s; the collapse of Peter I of Cyprus's regime in the late 1360s; the onset of Charles VI's madness in 1392; the papal schism 1378–1417; Italian internecine wars to the 1450s; disenchantment with papal campaigns to sell indulgences; or the persistent and fierce rivalry between Venice and Genoa. Reflecting this, written crusade advice was increasingly designed to encourage as well as explain, to inspire as much as instruct, tone and content tending to be couched in the broadest terms, divorced from specifics of actual immediate crises.⁸ The enemy, even one as obvious and tangible as Mehmed II, had in some degree to be presented as an abstract construct. However prosaic or detailed, texts that might seem to show what contemporary elites thought about the practice of crusading often reveal nothing of the kind, operating as merely as endnotes to wider accepted cultural norms.

One obvious reason for this lay in the fast-changing realities of the eastern question. Successive efforts to organize a recovery campaign to Palestine had conclusively failed in 1336. The optimism of 1300 that some sort of anti-Muslim coalition with the Mongols of Persia could be achieved had long since been exposed as the fantasy it was. Now, by contrast, the Mamluks had agreed to allow the limited and initially precarious privilege of the Franciscans to establish a protective presence in some of the Holy Places in Jerusalem, the so-called *custodia terrae sanctae*.⁹ The friars' presence in Palestine encouraged the resumption of pilgrimage, at least for the well-heeled or religiously sponsored. From 1344, Pope Clement VI, a decade earlier the spearhead of Philip VI's crusade propaganda campaign, began issuing licences to trade once more with Egypt and its empire. The most active holy war focused not on the Levant but the Aegean, to combat Turkish pirates, a threat that shadowed a transformation in relations with the other potential crusade objective of the late thirteenth century, Byzantium.¹⁰ Crusading plans to re-establish the Latin

⁷ e.g. K. Petkov, 'The Rotten Apples and the Good Apples: Orthodox, Catholic and Turks in Philippe de Mézières' Crusading Propaganda', *Journal of Medieval History* 23 (1997), 269.

⁸ For a summary see, A. Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land* (Aldershot, 2000).

⁹ J. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order* (Oxford, 1968), 436–8; see also Holmes in this volume.

¹⁰ For trading patterns, E. Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1983) that has wide deep, and sometimes overlooked significance for the subject under discussion; N. Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580* (Oxford, 1992), 56–63; E. A. Zachariadou, 'Holy War in the Aegean during the Fourteenth Century', in B. Arbel *et al.* (eds.), *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204* (London, 1989), 212–25; P. Lemerle, *L'Émirat d'Aydin*,

Empire at Constantinople, assert the claims of Angevin pretenders to the imperial title, or expand their rule in southern Greece, failed to excite western enthusiasm and ceased after the 1320s.¹¹ In a diplomatic volte face, after a generation of hostility, in the 1320s Andronikos II and Andronikos III opened diplomatic channels with the papacy and secular western powers such as France offering an ecclesiastical rapprochement in return, at times more or less explicitly, for western aid against acquisitive Turkish emirs of western Asia Minor. By 1332, Byzantium was formally involved in plans for an anti-Turkish Holy League. Thereafter, any serious scheme to attack Greek Byzantium for being schismatic was effectively dead. The skilful and by no means entirely hypocritical Byzantine approaches by, notably, John V in the 1350s and 1360s to achieve church union and a western political alliance relegated the Greek crusade to history.¹² Equally, the divisions in the Orthodox Christian Balkans in the fourteenth century, such as the rise of an autonomous if unstable Serbia, coupled with the involvement of the west through the Angevin-Neapolitan assumption of the Hungarian throne, produced diplomatic complications that resisted the broad brush of a crusade. Elsewhere, the annexation of Rhodes by the Hospitallers and Chios by the Genoese blurred the distinction between wars of faith and profit. Consequently, Mediterranean and Balkan crusading in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries became largely a matter of occasional support for local campaigns, not full-scale mass *passagia*, operations scarcely distinguishable from non-crusading military and naval activity. Leadership lay with local rulers and recruitment was, for the most part, professional rather than evangelical, hardly matching the transforming collective redemption of Christendom suggested by contemporary crusading rhetoric.

The effective abandonment of the Holy Land as a crusading objective after the Cypriot-Mamluk treaty of 1370 showed how much had changed. It has convincingly been argued that Peter I of Cyprus's Levantine aggression in the 1360s was in part inspired by the need to protect his kingdom's trading position, his policy displaying a number of contesting elements, chivalrous, commercial, and crusading.¹³ Peter's somewhat cavalier treatment of Armenia and proprietorial occupation of Adalia (Antalya) from 1361 suggested political

Byzance et l'Occident (Paris, 1957); cf. A. E. Laiou, 'Marino Sanudo Torsello, Byzantium and the Turks', *Speculum*, 45 (1970), 374–92.

¹¹ For summaries see Housley, *Later Crusades*, chs. 2 and 5 and useful bibliographical hints at 467–8, 476–8; Lemerle, *L'Émirat d'Aydin*; A. E. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972); D. Geanakoplos's articles in *A History of the Crusades*, gen. ed. K. Setton (Madison, Wis., 1969–89), iii. 27–68, 69–103.

¹² See also Ryder in this volume.

¹³ See the series of studies by P. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades* (Cambridge, 1991), 141–79; idem, 'The Crusading Policy of King Peter I of Cyprus 1359–69', in P. M. Holt (ed.), *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades* (Warminster, 1977), 90–105; and his introduction to Guillaume de Machaut, *The Capture of Alexandria*, tr. J. Shirley (Aldershot, 2001).

and economic motives that had little to do with recovering the Holy Places. The Genoese were greater rivals in the region than the still landlubber Mamluks. Even the Alexandria campaign's most elegant chronicler, the French poet and composer Guillaume de Machaut, gave more attention to the less glamorous fighting around Ayas and the suppression of the Adalia mutiny in 1367.¹⁴ The brief capture of Alexandria was glorious, as witnessed by Chaucer's use of it to establish his Knight's credentials.¹⁵ However, it could be regarded as part of a policy of offering the stick as well as the carrot to his competitors in the region. If Alexandria had been the stick, the carrot of negotiation soon replaced it. Talks that ultimately bore fruit in 1370 had started as early as 1367, apparently with Peter's approval. Guillaume de Machaut saw no problem in mentioning the opening of these trade negotiations and crediting (wrongly) King Peter with their successful conclusion.¹⁶ After 1369–70, despite continued rivalries and hostilities between the Latins in the eastern Mediterranean and the Mamluks, the annihilation of the Christian kingdom of Cilician Armenia in 1375, or even the Mamluk naval assault on Cyprus in the 1420s and Rhodes in 1440 and 1444, the crusade to liberate Jerusalem was over.¹⁷

Thereafter the gulf between the liturgical image of the Holy Land, whose promotion as an object and metaphor for faith remained strong in the west, and the political reality of relations with the Mamluks widened.¹⁸ The arrival of the Ottoman Turks undermined the simple demonization afforded the Saracen and stretched the territorial link between holy war and Christ's heritage and suffering. Reality intruded. Crackpot schemes for the recovery of Jerusalem received short shrift, even in ludic gestures. Only one of the more than 200 recorded vows made on the Pheasant during the junketings at Lille on 17 February 1454 mentioned the ultimate goal of the 'saint voyage de Jherusalem'. Another of the votaries, Ghillbert of Lannoy, a veteran of an eastern reconnaissance mission in 1420–3, refrained from such quixotic references.¹⁹ While fifteenth-century writers, including a crop of humanist

¹⁴ Guillaume de Machaut, *Capture of Alexandria*, 14, 105–25.

¹⁵ Geoffrey Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales: General Prologue*, l. 51.

¹⁶ L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan* (Paris 1852–61), ii. 236–7, 302–8; cf. Guillaume de Machaut, *Capture of Alexandria*, 172.

¹⁷ On Latin relations with the Mamluks in this period see also Fleet in this volume.

¹⁸ A. Linder, *Raising Arms* (Turnhout, 2003).

¹⁹ Jean Torcello, 'Avis', in *Le voyage d'outremer de Bertrandon de la Brocquière*, ed. C. Schefer (Paris, 1892), 266, 274; Jean Germain, *Discours*, 314–42; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pius II), *Memoirs of a Renaissance Pope: The Commentaries of Pius II. An Abridgement*, ed. L. C. Gabel and tr. F. A. Gragg (London, 1960), 236; on Pius and the crusade see now N. Bisaha, 'Pope Pius II and the Crusade', in N. Housley (ed.), *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century* (Basingstoke, 2004), 39–52. *Chronique de Mathieu d'Escouchy*, ed. G. du Fresne de Beaucourt (Paris, 1863–4), 206, the vow of Philippe de Viefvil; M.–T. Caron, *Les Vœux de fison, noblesse en fête, esprit de croisade*

crusade authors, such as the Florentine Benedetto Accolti, looked back admiringly on the Jerusalem crusades and a few even mentioned the recovery of the Holy Land in their crusade exercises in classical rhetoric, none of it was any more serious than was Charles VIII in 1494 when he listed the recapture of Jerusalem as his ultimate war aim.²⁰ In late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Spain, the cause of the Holy Land emerged as a powerful theme of royal propaganda and policy. But even here the function of Jerusalem talk was political only in the sense of ideology not military planning. By the time of the Fifth Lateran Council (1512–17), despite much debate of the Turkish issue and the issue of crusading decrees, Jerusalem was not seriously discussed.²¹

The main crusading dramas of the period after 1370 revolved around the Ottoman Turks who began to compete with the 'Saracens' as bogeymen, instruments of God's punishment and as enemies against whom Christian heroism could be refined.²² The Turkish wars of the fifteenth century penetrated vernacular literature, providing heroes such as John of Capistrano, whose role in the successful defence of Belgrade in 1456 found commemoration, for example, in the fanciful but robust Middle English Romance *Capistranus*.²³ With the advent of the Ottomans in the Balkans, the pragmatism of works composed about the crusade may seem to be obvious. They have increasingly been used by modern historians, this author included, as witnesses to the abiding force of crusading ideas, mentalities, and action. However, closer inspection may at least modify such impressions. The image and the reality were in one sense wholly separate; holy war on one side; diplomacy, cooperation, contact, and trade on the other. In another, it might be argued by cultural historians that the image was the reality. Events decreed that there were no monolithic opposing faith blocs or political groups; contacts, alliances and hostilities criss-crossed every territorial, religious, or conceptual frontier. This made any literary or emotional configuration of holy war much more complex; redemption was hard to locate in *raisons d'état*. This may explain the flight into allegory or generality. Yet the crusade remained a popular theme in a wide variety of literary genres: devotional, liturgical, polemic, diplomatic, in romance, rhetoric, history and

(Turnhout, 2003), 153. For Lannoy's eastern report, Ghillebert de Lannoy, *Œuvres*, ed. C. Poitvin (Louvain, 1878).

²⁰ Benedetto Accolti, *La storica della prima Crociata*, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades* (Paris, 1844–95), v. 525–620; Housley, *Later Crusades*, 47–8.

²¹ N. Tanner, *The Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* (London and Washington, DC, 1990), 595, 607, 609–14, 651, 653–4, 796–7.

²² As in Petkov, 'Rotten Apples'; in general, J. V. Tolan, *Saracens* (New York, 2002).

²³ S. H. A. Shepherd (ed.), *Middle English Romances* (New York and London, 1985), 391–408. It survives in three printed fragments of 1515, 1520, and 1527, but is probably earlier, sharing features with 15th-cent. romances such as the *Sege of Melayne*.

the associated modes of travel, adventure, wonders, and pilgrimage literature. It is no coincidence that one of the most circulated, adapted, translated, illustrated, and possibly even read and heard works of the later Middle Ages was Mandeville's pseudonymous *Travels* that paraded almost all of these—and began with a ringing endorsement of the traditional but redundant crusade to the Holy Land.²⁴

The conflicting play of events on literature is tellingly evident in Guillaume de Machaut's poem on Peter of Cyprus's Levant campaigns of 1365–7, which is not quite what at first glance it might appear to be. As Peter Edbury has observed, this is not a straight heroic tale of crusading glory.²⁵ King Peter made an awkward hero, tainted by his crusading failure and his assassination for capricious, tyrannical rule. Machaut's inclusion of the bizarre feud between Peter and Florimont of Lesparre in 1367 resolutely fails to bathe the king in unbroken good light, even in his capacity as a crusade commander, with Florimont's complaint to him: 'the service of God is open to all and you should never have forbidden it to any Christian'.²⁶ But the flawed hero is a commonplace in epic and romance. The opening of Machaut's poem seems to imply this by its use of three pagan gods of dubious repute, Mars, Venus, and Saturn, whose foibles fitted with Peter's reputation with his enemies as a lecherous warmonger. Beside the epic ran the fictive account of Peter's youth as the predestined crusader. There is a touch of hagiography in the account of Peter's acute sufferings from seasickness. The poem is explicitly placed in that half-real, half-imagined world of chivalric romance. One crusader is compared with the Arthurian Gawain.²⁷ The enemy at Alexandria are called 'Saracens', the catch-all epithet in romances for Muslims and non-Christians. Feasting and jousting are given due prominence, a conjunction of art and nature. On one level, Machaut was writing a chivalric adventure story, as in his extended description of the 1367 campaigns on the Cilician and Syrian coasts. He even has his own version of Henry V's Agincourt speech in Peter's exhortation to his troops before Alexandria:

Men who are now in Ghent, Pamplona, Bruges or Brunn, they should all come and join us here—and God be thanked, my lords, we are here now! Famous you'll be for this all your lives long; and so will every man who fought here, who can say: 'Yes, I was there when we took Alexandria'.²⁸

Yet elsewhere in the poem, Machaut shows he is perfectly well informed of the nuances of eastern Mediterranean politics.

²⁴ e.g. the version ed. M. C. Seymour, *Mandeville's Travels* (Oxford, 1967), 1–4; in general, M. H. Letts (ed. and tr.), *Mandeville's Travels, Texts and Translations* (London, 1953); on the influence of Mandeville see also Abulafia in this vol.

²⁵ See his introduction to Guillaume de Machaut, *Capture of Alexandria*.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 162.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 65.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 84.

This parallelism of the narrative and its gloss suggests something of Machaut's purpose. Writing in France, for a French elite audience, probably in the early 1370s, Machaut gives due weight to the trade negotiations between Peter and Egypt. The possibility of a negotiated return of Jerusalem is explicitly entertained ('I'd rather get what's mine by love than force'; 'By treaty or by valour he'll win back his heritage').²⁹ Machaut recognizes the long-term division of interest between the Cypriots and the Venetians as well as between Peter and his foreign allies during the Alexandria campaign itself. Despite formal descriptions of the initial united enthusiasm, he is open about those who reneged on their promises to assist Peter's crusade. Reflecting the context of papal-Byzantine talks on church union, perhaps with an eye cast backwards to Emperor John V's visit to the pope in 1369, Machaut has Peter optimistically declare 'I know Constantinople's emperor will come, true heart and valiant!'³⁰

Of more general contemporary interest was Machaut's theme of the pursuit of rights. This is a standard trope in literature as in law and politics, but Machaut does more than simply recite Peter's own inherited claim to the Holy Land. Peter is shown arguing his case against the sultan of Egypt on legalistic, not directly religious lines: 'Your lord offends all Christians, right and God! Whose is the world? Common to all, of course, and yet he acts with all the pride/of any savage lord'.³¹ This echoes the arguments about non-Christian dominion that went back at least to Innocent IV. More specifically, Machaut was writing—for a French audience—in part about events that had been shaped by the failure of the French to honour the promises made at the crusade conference at Avignon in 1363, a dereliction exacerbated by the resumption of the Hundred Years War by Charles V in 1369. With these events in mind, Machaut's justifications for not crusading are as interesting as his praise for crusading. He quoted his former patron and employer, blind King John of Bohemia, whose death at Crécy (1346) had elevated him into a chivalric paragon: 'a man's truly valiant who defends his own inheritance; no castle stormed, no battle in the field can equal this'.³² While justifying Peter's war for Jerusalem, this also exonerates Charles V's refusal to put crusading before his monarchical duties at home against the English. When defending Peter from charges of his absences weakening Cyprus (not levelled in the poem but made in real life in Cyprus in the 1360s), Machaut asserted that the king had left the island well guarded, adding: 'Disgrace is all that can result if you go off to conquer foreign lands and lose your own. Defend your heritage, that's a fine act.'³³ Charles V's court would have been pleased by such

²⁹ Ibid. 96, 127.³⁰ Ibid. 84.³¹ Ibid. 97.³² Ibid. 35.³³ Ibid. 56; for Bouvet, see N. A. R. Wright, 'The "Tree of Battles" of Honoré Bouvet', in C. T. Allmand (ed.), *War, Literature and Politics in the Later Middle Ages* (Liverpool, 1976), 12–31.

endorsement. More significantly, just as Honoré Bouvet tried to argue for a national chivalry, so Machaut was recognizing the respectability of the prior claims of nation over crusade—and was doing so in a chivalric and crusading context.

If Machaut could be seen as addressing a local French audience and his poem harnessed to a particular brief period, in hindsight one of transition, Philippe de Mézières has been regarded as a central figure in the continuing relevance and seriousness of late fourteenth-century crusade practice and ideas. A pilgrim to the Holy Land and participant on Humbert of Vienne's crusade in the 1340s, one of Peter I of Cyprus's closest western advisers and chancellor of Cyprus in the 1360s, diplomat, confidant of the crusade legate Peter Thomas, later councillor of Charles V of France, ultimate crusade lobbyist, commentator, moralist, pamphleteer, and theorist, Mézières's career was lent coherence by his plan, first floated in the 1360s, but conceived two decades earlier, for a new military order to pursue the crusade, the Order of the Passion. Over years, and numerous modified redactions of its regulations, Mézières managed to attract into his and the order's orbit a number of highly placed courtiers in France, England, and Burgundy. Although a recluse in later years, Mézières has been seen as promoting a practical and coherent line of crusading policy, especially influential at the French court in the late 1370s and early 1380s. Only with age and disappointment did his ideas spin off into unreality. Before that, it has been argued, for Mézières, although a 'visionary', with 'clarity of vision', 'the recovery of Jerusalem was no idle fantasy'. Another recent observer, remarking on the final, eccentric version of the regulations of the Order of the Passion, 'Philippe seems really to have passed from the world of reality to that of dreams, something he had never done before'.³⁴ This may be to exaggerate the earlier pragmatism of Mézières, at least in his written works, to treat his Order of the Passion as more sensible than it really was, and to misunderstand his whole polemical project which had as much to do with saving souls as with the recovery of Jerusalem. This priority may explain why the changing circumstances of the eastern Mediterranean exerted surprisingly little influence on his fundamental attitudes and approach, which remained focused on the Holy Land, especially the redemptive quality of its cause, and hostile to the schismatic Greeks, stances that hardly matched contemporary circumstances.

The crusade writings of Mézières fitted a number of purely literary conventions. In *Le Songe du Vieil Pèlerin* the use of allegory, personification, and dream were ubiquitous, comparable with the near-contemporary *Piers Plowman*, for instance, or the dream sequences in Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*. The laboured allegories of pilgrimage or the chess board were familiar to

³⁴ Magee, 'Crusading at the Court of Charles VI', 369, 383; Petkov, 'Rotten Apples', 268.

fourteenth-century audiences, for instance from works by William of Deguileville or James of Cessolis. Similarly, the idea of chivalry as a social order as much as a code of behaviour was widely promoted in the fourteenth century. Moral and social criticism of chivalry and nobility from a veteran retired knight can be found from Ramon Llull, even Joinville's *Vie de St Louis* to the account by Mézières's younger contemporary Gadifer de la Sale of his fraught conquest of the Canary Islands after 1402.³⁵ The role echoed that of certain hermits in Arthurian romances, a socially liminal position that Mézières adopted and emphasized, as the 'Old Pilgrim' in retirement at the Celestine house in Paris. In this withdrawal from the world he aped another familiar crusade hero of romance, Guy of Warwick, who ended his career, after lengthy adventures amongst shifty Greeks and fabulous Saracens, as a hermit.³⁶

The central obsession of Mézières's literary career was his order, whose dedication to the Passion symbolically evoked a diffuse set of emotions and aspirations, from the association with the recovery of the Holy Land, alluded to by Honoré Bouvet, to the pervasive cult of redemption through suffering.³⁷ Although apparently intended to implement an orderly crusade and a firm government of the reconquered Holy Land, the Order of the Passion's original purpose was to inspire repentance and piety through the cult of the Passion which would then lead to assistance for Christians in the east, the recovery of the Holy Land, and a general strengthening of the church. Mézières's inspiration to found the order had come in a vision experienced as a young man in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. By the 1380s, the revivalist dimension had become more overt with the need, expressed forcefully in the *Songe*, for universal peace in Christendom and an end to the papal schism. Passion motifs bore a long and close association with crusading. The imagery of the cross had been central to crusade preaching, doubling as a metaphor for general penitence. The link persisted: English participants on the projected planned Anglo-Spanish campaign against the Moors of North Africa of 1511 were given badges showing the Five Wounds of Christ.³⁸ However, the practical implications of Mézières's use of the Passion for crusading appear less than overwhelming. Despite the noble credentials of its adherents, Mézières's order exerted no direct impact on actual crusading in the 1390s. His famous *Letter to Richard II*, even if actually delivered, failed to influence events. In any case, it was more concerned with arguing for a lasting peace between England and France than with any crusade. The same year, 1395, new

³⁵ See the comments by J. R. Goodman, *Chivalry and Exploration 1298–1630* (Woodbridge, 1998), 121, and, for Gadifer, 104–33.

³⁶ R. Wilcox, 'Romancing the East: Greeks and Saracens in *Guy of Warwick*', in N. McDonald (ed.), *Pulp Fiction of Medieval England* (Manchester, 2004), 217–40.

³⁷ Bonet, *Tree of Battles*, 127; A. S. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1938), 140–3 and refs.; Petkov, 'Rotten Apples', 260.

³⁸ C. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades* (Chicago, 1988), 343–4, 438.

regulations for the order expressly prohibited members from engaging in fighting anywhere except the Holy Land, implicitly excluding war against the Ottomans in the Balkans.³⁹ The Holy Land crusade appeared as an excuse and a metaphor, a cause under whose banner warring parties could be reconciled. What influence Mézières imagined for his writing seemed, in the *Letter* as in the *Songe*, to revolve around internal European politics and religion not the eastern Mediterranean. Thus, at the end of the *Songe*, the Old Pilgrim prays for Charles VI of France and his kingdom, for an end to the papal schism, and for the souls of the quick and the dead.⁴⁰

This abstract, revivalist quality of Mézières's use of the Holy Land crusade is further illustrated by three very different tracts, his *Vita* of Peter Thomas, written in 1366 when Mézières was still in the thick of planning for further attacks on Muslim powers of the Levant; the *Livre de la vertu du sacrement de mariage*, composed in the late 1380s when it has been argued Mézières exerted great influence at the French court; and his *Épître Lamentable*, an immediate reaction to news of the defeat of a crusading army at Nicopolis in 1396. Although each possessed distinctive contexts and content, they share a common theme. The hagiography of Peter Thomas, probably an attempt to gain his canonization, a difficult and in this instance unavailing process in the fourteenth century, emphasized his orthodoxy and consistency in pointed contrast to an array of failed heroes and villains: schismatic Balkan Christians; false allies in western Europe; a pusillanimous pope and a disengaged emperor. Peter Thomas is afforded a pivotal role in recruitment and maintaining morale, both in the Dardanelles campaign in 1359 and at Alexandria. The course of events, Mézières conventionally argued, was determined by the spiritual standing of participants, leading him to a certain contradiction when condemning Greek schismatics while describing a rare occasion of military cooperation, at Lampsakos in 1359. The message was a conservative one; obediently follow the lead of the Latin church towards personal and communal penitence and the recovery of the Holy Land will follow.⁴¹

That this cause represented a devotional as much as a political ambition was strongly suggested in the *Vertu* in which Jerusalem is introduced as a symbol of Christ's reign on earth, so that the occasional apostrophes on the shame of the city's loss or the need for its recovery are loaded with clear double meaning. This helps explain the inclusion right at the end of this extensive work of a lengthy anecdote allegedly told by the exiled King Levon V of Armenia of a vision of the Virgin Mary in Egypt as part of his attempts to

³⁹ Philippe de Mézières, *Letter to King Richard II*, tr. G. W. Coopland (Liverpool, 1975); Petkov, 'Rotten Apples', 268.

⁴⁰ Philippe de Mézières, *Songe*, ii. 514.

⁴¹ Philippe de Mézières, *Life of St Peter Thomas*, ed. J. Smet (Rome, 1954); Atiya, *Crusades*, 129–36; Petkov, 'Rotten Apples', 257–60.

encourage, through Mézières and his other contacts at the French court, a new crusade to recover his kingdom and the Holy Land. The moral dimension is evident; Armenia, like Acre a century earlier, had been lost through lack of aid from 'la Chrestienté catholique' to the 'très grand deshonneur' of all Christendom.⁴² The insertion of this apparently incongruous episode hardly confirms to any pattern of pragmatic crusade planning. The emphasis on the transcendent importance of the Holy Land and its recovery as an image, test, and barometer of faith as much as an object of Christian military action emerges again, right at the end of the *Vertu* in the long penultimate prayer to the Virgin Mary. Two decades after the last Levantine crusade, the mantra of the recovery of the Holy Land had become a literary ritual that says much about what was regarded as laudable and respectable but nothing about what was possible or likely. In contrast to some earlier fourteenth-century works on the eastern crusade, the search for practical crusading solutions in Mézières's works is illusory. The erudition and detail on display in the *Songe* merely made the devotional purpose more compelling not, vice versa.

Of course, this association of the Holy Land with the spiritual health of Christendom and the religious commitment of individual Christians represented a commonplace of crusade preaching, rhetoric, and liturgy. It also featured prominently in many, possibly most, of the apparently highly practical works of crusade advice, such as those of the Venetian Marino Sanudo. However, in Mézières's writing the practical content, if any, was only generally aimed at actual problems of organizing a crusade. The strategy outlined in the *Songe* was wholly unremarkable. Even the appeal for universal peace and unity in Christendom comprised sincere platitudes mixed with a large dollop of French special pleading. His influence over his pupil, the future Charles V, or as a special advisor to the *marmouset* government 1388–92, assumed by many historians over the last century or so, rested less on precise political programmes than on a vague manifesto of reform for international relations, national retrenchment, and some sort of amorphous re-energizing of chivalry for which the cause of the Holy Land operated as a sort of moral shorthand. The closest Mézières came to crusade organization after 1370 may have been the pageants at the French court of the First Crusade in 1378 and the Third Crusade in 1389.⁴³ His form of utopianism was not unique, being shared, for instance by his contemporary and fellow ally of Charles VI's brother, Louis of Orléans, Eustace Deschamps, author of a similarly fanciful *Exhortation à la croisade*. Mézières pedalled not crusade advice but a prose form of what has

⁴² Philippe de Mézières, *Le Livre de la vertu du sacrement de mariage*, ed. J. B. Williamson (Washington, DC, 1993), 384–7; for the prayer to the Virgin Mary, 394–400; cf. the parallel of the Jerusalem pilgrimage to a spiritual not physical progress, 315; cf. Mézières, *Songe*, i. 21–2.

⁴³ Tyerman, *God's War*, 887–8 (and nn. 27 and 28), 983; Magee, 'Crusading at the Court of Charles VI', 370 and *passim* for a possibly exaggerated view of Mézières and the *marmousets*.

been called 'devotional romance', distanced by its form and content from any direct relation with practical crusade planning.⁴⁴

Mézières's final 'crusade' work exemplifies this approach and, so far from signalling a new flight into fantasy, marks a logical culmination of most of his previous crusade writing, including his plans for an Order of the Passion. The *Épistre Lamentable et Consolatoire* was written in the first weeks of 1397 in reaction to the news of the disaster at Nicopolis and directed to Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, the chief protagonist for the western expedition to the Danube.⁴⁵ The *Épistre* begins in allegory and ends in parable. What at first glance may appear practical in fact is a characteristic mixture of the visionary and the sentimental. To the themes of folly, pride, disorder, and catastrophe familiar from other western accounts of Nicopolis, Mézières lends his usual touch of personification. The forces of good—Rule, Discipline, Obedience, and Justice—are ranged against Pride, Envy, and Luxury with their following of fifty-five additional specified evils. Besides recalling a recent history of French defeats (Crécy and Poitiers) Mézières also resorted to the world of the *chansons de geste* (a distinction perhaps not as firm in his mind as in ours), as did the historian Jean Froissart in his account of Nicopolis. For Mézières, the defeat resembled the disaster at Roncevalles, the Balkan Orthodox Christians in the Turkish army playing the role of Ganelon because they 'preferred to be the subjects of the Turk than of the king of Hungary', in itself a comment and attitude that revealed the gulf between Mézières and the complications of Balkan politics.⁴⁶

In a welter of clichés (e.g. one rotten apple; shutting the stable door after the horse has bolted, etc.),⁴⁷ Mézières ostensibly calls on Charles VI of France to take revenge, an openly absurd notion given the king's mental fragility. Any Christian army to be led east would require the four virtues (Rule, Discipline, Obedience, and Justice). To achieve this, Christendom needed a spiritual and religious revival to create a generation of New Israelites. Although this revivalist utopianism gives way to a seemingly serious consideration of how best to negotiate ransoming the prisoners taken at Nicopolis, Mézières returns to his scheme for his Order of the Passion, which tellingly he sees in its international appeal a means of ending the papal schism. The credibility of the plan is exposed in Mézières's account of how the order would gather three huge armies to attack Islam from central Europe, the Mediterranean, and North Africa.⁴⁸ As in the *Songe*, the crusade has ceased to be an end in itself but a

⁴⁴ The phrase is that of S. C. Akbari, 'Incorporation in *The Siege of Melayne*', McDonald, *Pulp Fiction of Medieval England*, 23.

⁴⁵ Philippe de Mézières, *Épistre lamentable et consolatoire*, in *Œuvres de Froissart*, ed. K. de Lettenhove (Brussels, 1867–77), xvi, 444–523.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 453.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* for both.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 492–8; p. 503 for ulterior motive of ending the papal schism.

revivalist mechanism by which Christendom could be reordered and reformed. This was not new for Mézières. Nor was his insistence on condemning Greeks and other schismatics, a theme going back to his *Vita* of Peter Thomas thirty years earlier.⁴⁹ This attitude reeked of reactionary hostility to Byzantium, inappropriate when church union continued sporadically to feature high on the list of papal and Byzantine priorities. However, Mézières may have recognized what had become evident in his lifetime: union was a deceptive dream and non-Byzantine Greek Orthodox inhabitants of the Balkans did not—could not—necessarily share the west's Manichaean opposition to the Ottomans. From the 1370s, at least, Christian tributaries and allies of the Ottomans fought in the sultan's armies, decisively at Nicopolis in 1396, a pattern that persisted until, including and beyond the capture of Constantinople in 1453. Even when the healing of the papal schism allowed church union talks with the Greeks to recommence, the fragmented nature of the frontline against the Ottomans compromised the construction of a convincing enemy target, both politically and conceptually. This further exposed the irrelevance of crusading—and Mézières's vision—to the political confrontations in the Balkans as, earlier, in the Levant.

The Nicopolis campaign had reflected another aspect of western militarism that had long ridden abreast of crusading and, equally, had no connection with eastern realpolitik. The fourteenth century witnessed the institutional application of the theorizing of chivalry by such as Ramon Llull, Geoffroi de Charny, and the anonymous author of the *Ordene de chevalerie* in the establishment of a raft of secular orders of chivalry, most, like Mézières's, shot through with religious good intent but without the focus and constraints of the old religious military orders. Many, again like Mézières's, enjoined service on eastern crusades on their members, an obligation attractive to bolster personal self-image rather than—again in contrast to the old military orders—answering any needs of the frontiers with Muslims or pagans.⁵⁰ Mézières's obscurantist allegories fitted a literary-historical genre of contemporary comment that stretched from grafting crusade motifs onto secular conflicts, as in the *Chronicon* of the Englishman Henry Knighton, canon of Leicester, through biographical adventure stories such as the *Livre des faits* of Marshal Boucicaut that presented a highly imaginative vision of crusading as the acme of chivalric behaviour (c.1409), to the historical romance chronicles of Jean Froissart.⁵¹ The moral didacticism of these accounts chimed in with Mézières's in providing an audience of western nobles with the frisson of criticism as well

⁴⁹ See now Petkov, 'Rotten Apples' on this.

⁵⁰ In general, M. Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven, 1984), 179–99.

⁵¹ On Knighton, Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 332–3; on Boucicaut, see now N. Housley, 'One Man and his Wars: The Depiction of Warfare by Marshal Boucicaut's Biographer', *Journal of Medieval History*, 29 (2003), 27–40; for Froissart, see J. J. N. Palmer (ed.), *Froissart: Historian* (Woodbridge, 1981).

as the glorious and gory details of battle. The secular genre mirrored the clerical. Thus the St Denis chronicler highlighted the contrast between the Christians before Nicopolis, with their lavish feasts, ornate tents, gaudy clothes, and loose women, and the superstitious but God-fearing, prudent, and discreet Sultan Bayezid, a suitable instrument of God's punishment.⁵²

Froissart's account of the Nicopolis campaign reveals the unreality of much of what was written on eastern affairs when entertainment, exhortation, moralizing, and commentary entwined.⁵³ Almost in diametric opposition to Mézières, whose strictures based on fact concealed a large degree of fiction, on the surface Froissart was writing fantasy, inventing a pan-Islamic conference between Bayezid and the sultan of Egypt and portraying Sigismund as encouraging his French allies with talk of the recovery of Armenia, Syria, Palestine, and Jerusalem, echoing Mézières's talk of Holy Land crusades at the French and English courts a few years before. In describing the release of the Christian captives in 1397, Froissart has Bayezid issue an open challenge to fight the French leader, John of Nevers, or anyone else at any time in the future. This was flatly contradicted by the biographer of one of those captives, Boucicaut, who has Bayezid extracting an oath from the captives that they would never bear arms against him again.⁵⁴ Froissart, writing before 1402, seemed intent on emphasizing the continued Ottoman threat, whereas Boucicaut's biographer wrote after Bayezid's destruction by Tamerlane. Froissart's account, like Mézières's *Épître*, was part of a process of working out how to react to Nicopolis. Thus he makes John of Nevers report the sultan's threat to march on Rome and feed his horse on the altar of St Peter's. The Ottomans, he claimed, were well versed in Christendom's political and ecclesiastical divisions that, he argued, again like Mézières, needed resolution as a prelude to any counter-attack against the Turks. Thus, Froissart falls into the long tradition of later medieval commentators on the crusade in focusing his aim on the internal politics of western Christendom in which the crusade occupied an honoured but essentially honorific role.

The fifteenth century displayed a similar pattern of fragmented frontlines; unstable Christian alliances; compromise, self-interest, accommodation, defeat, or retreat in dealings with the Mamluks and Turks from Cyprus to the Danube; and western solipsism, pusillanimity, and crusade posturing. As

⁵² *Chronique du Religieux de St Denis*, ed. M. Bellaguet (Paris, 1839–52), ii. 484–504.

⁵³ For a critique of Froissart's (and others') accounts of Nicopolis, K. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant* (Philadelphia, 1971–84), i. 343–57, who gives very full references.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 361–2. For Boucicaut's biographer's account, Jean le Maingre Boucicaut, *Le Livre des Fais du Bon Messire Jehan le Maingre, dit Bouciquaut, Mareschal de France et Gouverneur de Jennes*, ed. D. Lalande (Geneva, 1985), 121–8; for a tr. of Froissart's account, *Chronicles of England, France, Spain etc.*, tr. T. Johnes (London, 1849), vol. 2, book 4, chs. 69, 71, 74, 76, 81–4 (pp. 593–5, 597–8, 601–4, 607–9, 622–31); ch. 91, at p. 654 for the recital by John of Nevers of Bayezid's threats.

before, it is hard not to gain the impression that crusade writing constituted a literary and cultural genre that bore only tangential or occasional relation to the mechanics of response to the Ottomans, in particular. This is not to deny the crusade as a normative cultural force, expressed in the range and popularity of Holy Land liturgies; in the still widespread and lucrative indulgence market; or in the rhetoric of diplomacy that, in the 1450s and 1460s at least seemed to presage concerted action. Pope Pius II personally took the cross; John of Capistrano led a populist army of crusaders to help defend Belgrade; not a decade passed without a Duke of Burgundy floating plans for a crusade; at the end of the century, in France and Spain, crusading myths formed part of the ideological underpinning of revived monarchy. Some unlikely figures paid lip service to the ideal, including Richard III of England, who was only too aware of the Ottoman threat.⁵⁵ After the fall of Constantinople, the annexation of almost all of the Balkans and the occupation of Otranto in 1480, the danger to Europe appeared far more serious than a century before. Yet, with a few notable exceptions—for example, Varna 1444 or Belgrade 1456—crusading, as opposed to more local, less international, or overtly religious responses in the eastern Mediterranean, remained confined to the armchair or political theatre not treasuries and battlefields.

Interest remained, but even texts apparently steeped in genuine research, observation, and seemingly intended to inform policy-making, displayed a detachment that suggested a role at one remove from active involvement or serious expectations. Recognition of the end of the Holy Land crusade was illustrated by the predominance of Jerusalem pilgrimage tracts over crusade treatises, both in numbers and circulation. A. S. Atiya's influential 1938 study, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, by amalgamating crusades and pilgrims, and devoting about of a fifth of the book to the latter, reflects this. These pilgrim tracts themselves operated in a formal context, many cannibalizing their predecessors and offering as much, if not more, a spiritual *vade mecum* for the sedentary faithful rather than a practical guide to tourism in the Levant.⁵⁶ While crusade tracts were generated by the rhetoric and investment of public policy, their tone and content indicate a possibly not dissimilar function, in satisfying an imaginative and cultural enthusiasm rather than as gauges of material commitment.

Emmanuele Piloti's *De modo, progressu, ordine ac diligenti providentia habendis in passagio christianorum pro conquesta Terrae Sanctae* employs detailed descriptions of places, size of armies, and personal reminiscences of his three decades living, trading, and negotiating with Egyptians and their

⁵⁵ C. A. J. Armstrong, *The Usurpation of Richard III* (Oxford, 1969), 137.

⁵⁶ Atiya, *Crusades*, esp. chs. 8 and 9; cf. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 309–11; new light is shed on this subject by K. Beebe, 'Felix Fabri and his Audiences: The Pilgrimage Writings of a Dominican Preacher in Late-Medieval Germany', D.Phil Thesis (Oxford, 2007).

Mamluk rulers.⁵⁷ The work originally existed in Latin and French, and probably Italian as well. Initially directed at Eugenius IV, to whom Piloti probably put his ideas around the time of the Council of Florence in 1439, the French translation of 1441 suggests a connection with Burgundian schemes. On analysis, what appears a document of immense practicality, betrays the usual signs of a conventional propagandist portmanteau, replete with potted history, unoriginal strategy, impressive but impressionist statistics, and a large dose of sentimental religious optimism. At a time when church union and the plight of Byzantium were again matters of diplomatic urgency, Piloti's return to the theme of Levantine crusading, despite the recent (and unreversed) Mamluk victory over Cyprus, smacks of obscurantism, a feeling confirmed by *De Modo*'s content.

Despite the raw information and the authority of historical example, Piloti is vague on how his strategy is to work, falling back on Mézières-like platitudes and generalizations. The frame of Piloti's advice comprised the glorious past, beginning with Godfrey de Bouillon. To launch a reconquest of Jerusalem required peace and unity in Christendom, in particular in France and Italy. The pope was, unsurprisingly, to play a leading role in securing that peace and arousing enthusiasm for an eastern campaign. The leader of any such enterprise needed sensible advisers, wealth, international respect, and recruits eager for 'glory and fame'. Obedience to the leader must be absolute. The warriors were to follow in the footsteps of Christ, humbly and obediently, to suffer 'death and passion for Jesus Christ' (notice the Passion topos yet again).⁵⁸ The goal must be Cairo, via Alexandria. The route of the First Crusade was closed, by the Ottomans, pointedly described as both united and good fighters, and Louis IX's first crusade had demonstrated the mistake of attacking Damietta. A lengthy account of the topography and polity of Egypt is notable for a sympathetic account of Muslim habits, including their fair-minded tolerance of Christians. Like Mézières, Piloti believed that Islam would evaporate through emulation of Christians not conquest. This central confusion is forgotten in the extended use of history to illustrate the main themes and arguments. Such details established Piloti's credentials and underlined some of his points, such as how disunity and the schism prevented westerners from defeating the Ottomans and Mamluks. Yet throughout the text runs a set of pious assumptions allied to a precise political argument revolving around the role of the pope. Cairo is the target because it is the 'pagans' Rome', and therefore pivotal to Islam.⁵⁹ Only the authority of the Roman Pope could

⁵⁷ Piloti's *De Modo*, ed. Baron de Reiffenberg in *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire des provinces de Namur etc.* (Brussels, 1844–74), iv: 176, 313–411; see also the ed. by P.-H. Dopp, *Traité d'Emmanuel Piloti sur le passage en Terre Sainte (1420)* (Louvain, 1958); see Fleet in this volume, pp. 336–7 and nn. 49–52.

⁵⁸ Emmanuel Piloti, *De Modo*, 320.

⁵⁹ e.g. Emmanuel Piloti, *De Modo*, 361.

create the diplomatic and spiritual circumstances to allow an eastern crusade to succeed; only the pope had the means to provide adequate funding for the expedition. Like Marino Sanudo more than a century earlier, Piloti calculates the scale of expenses, arguing that his expedition would cost the equivalent of one year's papal revenues, instead of the ten that Sanudo's figures implied.⁶⁰ The point may not have been an accountant's but a polemicist's. The pope could raise the money because, in a very peculiar gloss on the Donation of Constantine, the emperor had granted the pope land from which to raise money 'to fight and conquer pagans and force them to the true obedience of the Christian faith'.⁶¹ In the context of the Council of Florence, the probable setting for the *De Modo*, the tensions surrounding the dissident council at Basle, and the tentative attempt at church union, Piloti made pointed reference to the dangers of papal schism and the (unsubstantiated) claim that the capture of Alexandria would bring relief to Constantinople. Yet none of his plans made much sense either on their own or in relation to eastern Mediterranean politics in the 1430s or 1440s. Neither of Piloti's erstwhile employers, the Genoese or Venetians, would have recognized the efficacy of any of his proposals.

If Piloti can be dismissed as an aged eccentric, the same cannot be said of the group surrounding the Burgundian court, especially not Bertrandon de la Brocquière. In 1432, Brocquière undertook a 'secret voyage', possibly of some years, under the guise of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem to spy out the prospects for a land-based assault on the eastern Mediterranean. However fanciful, which given Hungarian and other Balkan belligerence may not have seemed absurd to the geographically challenged planners in Burgundy, Brocquière and Piloti, for all their harking back to past triumphs, both bore witness to the changed world in which old-fashioned crusading of the sort pedalled by some of Brocquière's colleagues at the Burgundian court, such as the vociferous but ineffectual Bishop Germain of Chalons, appeared anachronistic.⁶² Piloti remembered negotiating civilly with Mamluk officials. On arriving at Damascus, Brocquière encountered Jacques Cœur, later a famous financier and *argentier* of France, who was in the Syrian city buying spices.⁶³ Brocquière noted the extensive network of Italian merchants operating along the coast and in the Syrian interior whose business tended to be interrupted by any Latin raiding or threat of war. One enterprising Genoese merchant whom Brocquière encountered was engaged in the lucrative slave trade from the Crimea to

⁶⁰ Ibid. 379; cf. N. Housley, 'Costing the Crusade: Budgeting for Crusading Activity in the Fourteenth Century', in M. Bull and N. Housley (eds.), *The Experience of Crusading* (Cambridge, 2003), 48.

⁶¹ Emmanuel Piloti, *De Modo*, 379.

⁶² Bertrandon de la Brocquière, *Le Voyage d'Outremer*, ed. C. Schefer (Paris, 1892), 1-262; and no 1 above for Germain's *Discours*.

⁶³ Brocquière, *Voyage*, 32.

reinforce the Mamluk army in Egypt.⁶⁴ Such were the realities of the Latin presence in the eastern Mediterranean, far from the easy certainties of western dreamers and rhetoricians. The regular, often intimate, non-confrontational human, commercial, and cultural exchange had created a setting in which the polemics of a Bishop Germain made little sense, which may have been the point. The Vow of the Pheasant was intended as part of the ritual of Burgundian self-image and aggrandizement not another Council of Clermont.

What, then, were Brocquière's journey and his account of it about? One clue lies in the production of the book. The journey occurred in the early 1430s. Brocquière returned to act as sort of resident eastern expert, dealing brusquely with absurdist treatises submitted to the Duke of Burgundy by John Torcello in 1439 and making contact with the Levant veteran Lannoy and Bishop Germain of Chalons, for twenty years Philip of Burgundy's pet crusade expert.⁶⁵ Only during the spasm of crusade enthusiasms in the mid-1450s did Brocquière write up his old adventures, as part of a package of crusade texts presented to Duke Philip by members of his court in 1457. Thus, Brocquière's *Voyage d'Outremer* as a text, as opposed to the journey itself, was a product of the process initiated by the Vow of the Pheasant, a fantastical context for what purported to be a serious piece of advice. Even more obviously, the delay in presenting the text rendered it obsolete; by 1457 the Ottomans were immensely more powerful and dominant in the region than had been the case in 1432; the long discussion in the published *Voyage* of the power of the Karaman emirate was, by the 1450s, redundant. As so often before, an apparently sober appraisal of prospects for a crusade was, in fact, no such thing.

Brocquière's *Voyage* fitted into the fashion for travel literature as much as crusade advice. He concentrated on describing the places and, especially, the people of the Levant, Turkey, Rumelia, and the Balkans. The ostensible purpose, to spy out the land route for 'la conquête de Iherusalem' was contradicted by Brocquière's findings. The *Voyage* discusses at length what might be needed to fight the Turks. John Torcello's hair-brained optimism over the conquest of the Jerusalem by land was flatly rejected by comments in the *Voyage*. As for the sea route to Palestine, he declined to comment as he was not an expert.⁶⁶ Such confusion adds to a sense of unreality. More vivid and convincing were the descriptions of people and places, even if the narrative of the journey stretches credulity. He seems to have adopted Turkish dress. His exploits included supplying lapsed Muslims with alcohol, although much of his information came indirectly from expatriate Latins. One anecdote has Brocquière's cover being blown by a slave of one of the Ottoman sultan's sons who had visited Paris with an Italian merchant. At Pera, outside

⁶⁴ Brocquière, *Voyage*, 68.

⁶⁵ For a brief summary, Tyerman, *God's War*, 858–61.

⁶⁶ Jean Torcello, 'Avis', 274.

Constantinople, Brocquière met a Neapolitan who had been sent to find Prester John by 'monseigneur de Berry' in 1430.⁶⁷ Brocquière was evidently well-connected, travelling from Constantinople with the Milanese ambassador. He met Sultan Murad II twice, providing a very sharp physical and personal description of this apparently obese incipient alcoholic. The portrait of Murad is almost too good to be true, fitting perfectly western imagined stereotypes of eastern potentates: an immensely fat, autocratic sybarite who broke his religion's prohibition on drink.⁶⁸ Stereotypes also larded Brocquière's account of Turkish manners and military prowess. The same features that ran through Mézières and others surface, such as Turkish skill, obedience, discipline. Similarly standard were Brocquière's comments on the Greeks whom he characterized as hating Latin Christians and preferring the Turks. Yet the Byzantine emperor is depicted as showing heroic defiance even though a tributary of the Sultan (definitely irrelevant by 1457). The usual horror stories of Christians enslaved to the Turk are rehearsed. When detailing possible ways of defeating the Turks, Brocquière resorts to wishful common platitudes: Anglo-Franco-German unity; papal fund-raising; wealth. The story of Godfrey de Bouillon uneasily stalks the apparently factual account of his travels in Asia Minor. Any conquest of the infidel must be conducted for the 'honour and reverence of God' and the salvation of souls and not for worldly praise or vainglory. This theme is taken up in Brocquière's response to Torcello's *Avis*. A successful crusade would depend on spiritual regeneration that, as with the sea route, Brocquière leaves to others to handle and determine.⁶⁹

In general, the technical details of Turkish military strength are far less compelling than the evocation of alien customs and inhabitants, of an exotic and threatening region that is nonetheless approachable, at least in the mind's eye. That is what the *Voyage* is about, enabling the listener or reader to imagine this alien space. It confirms the western interest in tales of the east, not their commitment to launching a massive new crusade. Duke Philip of Burgundy himself supplied the most revealing context for the *Voyage*. His most active pursuit of crusading lay in receiving clerical taxes for it and using it as a reason/excuse for imposing secular levies. Burgundian talk was never cheap and some of his subjects were genuinely moved to consider and take action. But the Turkish war was never allowed to interfere with the establishment of Burgundian power. Indeed it was part of that process, ultimately thwarted by the intransigence of successive kings of France who refused to permit their bumptious vassal the free hand he desired. The seriousness of Burgundian crusade intent may be exposed in the contrast between the hand-wringing, promises, and theatricals, and the very modest action. Looked at

⁶⁷ Bertrandon de Brocquière, *Voyage*, 143.

⁶⁸ Ibid. 176-7, 181-6.

⁶⁹ Ibid. 225-6; Jean Torcello, 'Avis', 274.

through another set of evidence, Philip of Burgundy, regarded by some as arrogant, spoilt, and rather stupid, made great efforts to collect new, old, or revised texts on the crusade, yet his library was almost bereft of books on the Turks. Brocquière's *Voyage*, for all its apparent relevance and actual detachment, was not even part of a concerted programme of information. Most of Duke Philip's crusade books were about the Holy Land; dead works indeed.⁷⁰

This pattern is paralleled in the similarly abstract qualities of the very large number of humanist tracts devoted to the Turks and the crusade, detailed examination of which space does not permit.⁷¹ The humanist habit was to address cultural obsessions of identity and responsibility nearer home rather than the mechanics of the crisis across the Adriatic, despite or perhaps because of the urgent paradox of Italy being at once the heart and frontier of later fifteenth-century Christendom. Even then, works by the most vociferous crusade advocate, Cardinal Bessarion, may only have reached limited audiences. The print run of his famous 1471 *Orationes ad principes Christianos contra Turcos* only numbered about 100, half ear-marked presentation copies.⁷² The element of ritual seems clear. After 1453, the old mirage of a crusade to Jerusalem and the traditional exaggerated demonization of the Turks entered Pius II's language, a sign of desperation or resignation. As Pius noted, secular political and commercial self-interest, clerical corruption and avarice, and suspicion of papal motives ('we are in a position of insolvent bankers... We have no credit') provide the gloomiest of contexts for a crusade.⁷³ Yet this did little to staunch the flow of humanist crusade literature because, in spite of genuine diplomatic and financial efforts, as well as personal commitment, the ideology of Pius and other crusade enthusiasts was introspectively western, tapping into ubiquitous communal imprints of shared, well-publicized history, legend, and myth sustained by a vigorous liturgical tradition that maintained Jerusalem, the Holy Land, and even the Turk in an extended religious metaphor for godliness and even the Christian life itself. However, in the realm of action, most rulers remained unmoved, more interested in gestures of showy prestige, finessed diplomacy, and church money rather than risky wars with the Turk. Thus, humanist literary advice, polemics, and treatises occupied the same position as the tableaux and courtly

⁷⁰ J. Paviot, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne, la croisade et l'Orient* (Paris, 2003), 238.

⁷¹ J. Hankins, 'Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II', *DOP* 49 (1995), 111–207; cf. N. Bisaha, *Creating East and West* (Philadelphia, 2004); R. Schwoebel, *The Shadow of the Crescent* (Nieuwkoop, 1967); M. Meserve, 'Italian Humanists and the Problem of the Crusade', in N. Housley (ed.), *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century* (Basingstoke, 2004), 13–38; and the context provided by R. Black, *Benedetto Accolti and the Florentine Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1985).

⁷² Hankins, 'Renaissance Crusaders', 117–18.

⁷³ Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pius II), *Commentarii*, i, 99, 132–5, 160, 210–11; idem, *Memoirs of a Renaissance Pope*, 237, 239, 327–8, 343, 351–2, 354, 357. Housley, *Later Crusades*, 105–9; Tyerman, *God's War*, 870–1; Bisaha, 'Pius II and the Crusade'.

ceremonies made notorious by the Vow of the Pheasant: gaudy, perhaps necessary, but hardly effective backdrops to activity determined by wholly other considerations. While reflecting a fondly imagined alternative invented universe of optimism and defining memories of past glory, they were not evidence of the survival of crusading as anything other than a cultural habit. Thus, this tenacious literary tradition served a range of religious and cultural functions. Military planning hardly featured. By affecting to address actual, immediate temporal issues, they kept alive a particular idealized vision of human affairs, the effect as much a comfort as a challenge. However, the humanists and their commentaries had little or nothing to do with the politics of the eastern Mediterranean or the Balkans, any more than had the works of different traditions and earlier generations, back to Machaut and Mézières.

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Aragon versus Turkey—Tirant lo Blanc and Mehmed the Conqueror: Iberia, the Crusade, and Late Medieval Chivalry

David Abulafia

1. TIRANT LO BLANC: AN IBERIAN WITNESS TO THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

In 2004, an exhibition entitled *Mediterraneum* was staged in Barcelona; it attempted to portray important political rivalries and economic bonds within the late medieval Mediterranean, and it laid particular emphasis in the political sections on the rivalry between the king of Aragon, Alfonso the Magnanimous, and the Ottoman sultan, Mehmed the Conqueror, despite a mismatch in chronology: the young Mehmed seized Constantinople only five years before Alfonso died at the age of 62.¹ Yet the point the exhibition was making was not simply that Alfonso was active in the defence of the Balkans, the Adriatic, and the eastern Mediterranean against the Turks; interestingly, the display also stressed the way that both rulers portrayed themselves as successors to Roman imperial power in the Mediterranean: Alfonso as the romanized Spaniard, immersed in humanistic culture, who was the spiritual and in a sense the physical heir to Trajan and Hadrian, Roman emperors of Spanish origin; and Mehmed as the successor to, even Islamic fulfiller of, Roman imperial power in the Byzantine Empire, rather than its destroyer, curious about and responsive to Italian and wider European culture.

Recent work by scholars in different fields has underlined the importance of this approach. Nancy Bisaha's study of humanist views of the Turks emphasizes that the image of the Turkish world presented by Italian writers was a combination

¹ *Mediterraneum* (Barcelona, 2004).

of hostile crusading rhetoric with more neutral, disinterested comment on Turkish society, an interest in its past history, and the reasons for its successes.² Several years ago, Robert Black had already singled out Benedetto Accolti of Florence, a humanist with passionate commitment to the crusade against the Turks.³ The career of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Pope Pius II, is an even better-known example of humanist fervour for the war against the Turks.⁴ And the letters of Panormita, the humanist secretary to Alfonso the Magnanimous and his son Ferrante, following Alfonso's conquest of Naples, are full of advice about the need to resist the Turks.⁵ Another approach entirely has been adopted by the Miquel Navarro Sorní, of the Colegio del Patriarca in Valencia: using diplomatic correspondence as well as crusading tracts, he has demonstrated how deep was the commitment of both Alfonso of Aragon and his former subject Pope Calixtus III Borgia to the launching of a decisive holy war to prevent Constantinople from falling into Turkish hands or, after 1453, to enable its recovery.⁶ It was an issue that over-rode the often difficult relations between King Alfonso and someone who occasionally seemed to be his Thomas Becket. In any case, the eastern policies of Alfonso the Magnanimous have been the subject of much debate, turning on the extent to which Alfonso saw himself as saviour of Christendom in the east. This debate has been resurrected following the discovery of a lost work of the prolific scholar Constantin Marinescu.⁷

This chapter approaches western attitudes to Turkish expansion in the eastern Mediterranean during the fifteenth century using a very different type of source material. The aim is to investigate how far it is possible to utilize a romantic novel written in Catalan in mid-fifteenth-century Valencia in order to identify attitudes to grand strategy against the Turks. This approach is highly experimental, and most of the figures mentioned will be the inventions of the Valencian authors of the book rather than the major participants in the conflict between Turks and Christians at this time. Yet it will emerge that, although the heroes and villains under examination are not

² N. Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanism and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia, 2004).

³ R. Black, *Benedetto Accolti and the Florentine Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1985).

⁴ R. J. Mitchell, *The Laurels and the Tiara* (London, 1962).

⁵ D. Abulafia, 'Ferrante I of Naples, Pope Pius II and the Congress of Mantua (1459)', in B. Z. Kedar *et al.* (eds.), *Montjoie* (Aldershot, 1997), 235–49.

⁶ M. Navarro Sorní, *Calixto II Borja y Alfonso el Magnánimo frente a la cruzada* (Valencia, 2003).

⁷ C. Marinescu, *La Politique orientale d'Alfonse V d'Aragon, roi de Naples (1416–1458)*, ed. M. T. Ferrer i Mallol (Barcelona, 1994); this is an incomplete edn. of a text originally printed in 1935 of which the later sections have been lost; cf. A. Ryder, 'The Eastern Policy of Alfonso the Magnanimous', *Atti della Accademia Pontaniana*, 28 (1979), 7–26; F. Cerone, *La politica orientale di Alfonso di Aragona* (Naples, 1903; originally published as articles in the *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane*, 27–8 (1902–3)).

closely based on real contemporary figures, the concerns and aspirations of the text reflect wider aims among those who competed with the Turks for control of the eastern Mediterranean, while the success of the text itself as a publishing phenomenon of the late fifteenth century suggests that the diffusion of its ideas about the war against the Turks was very wide, at least within the Iberian peninsula.

The text in question is *Tirant lo Blanc*, about three-quarters of which appears to have been written by the Valencian knight Joanot Martorell in the years around 1460 (he died in 1468).⁸ Martorell was master of some properties in the Valencian countryside, and knew Muslims as inhabitants of his lands; he also knew something of the Mediterranean as well as northern Europe, for he visited Naples in 1455. In addition, he was personally acquainted with some of those, such as Jaume de Vilaragut, who had played a significant role in the war against the Turks in and around Rhodes—some correspondence between Martorell and Vilaragut has survived, and it is reasonable to assume that Vilaragut was the main source of information to Martorell when he came to write a section of his work in which he described the role of his hero Tirant in the defence of Hospitaller Rhodes against the Turks and the Genoese.⁹

The little we know about Martorell indicates that his travels took him in rather different directions, however: not to Rhodes but to London and to Portugal, to one of whose royal princes he dedicated his *Tirant*.¹⁰ From England he acquired, in one language or another, the romance of Guy (or William) of Warwick, great chunks of which he incorporated in the gory early sections of his book, where he describes the invasion of England by the Moorish king of the Canaries.¹¹ Indeed, Martorell was an enthusiastic bibliophile who also borrowed from large parts of the late thirteenth-century *Book of Chivalry* by Ramon Llull as well as from more recent Catalan literature by Eiximenis and others. He was passionate about knightly conduct, ever ready, it seems, to challenge to a duel those who he felt had insulted him; but he was also well-connected in the literary world, and his brother-in-law was the great

⁸ I have used the standard edn. of M. de Riquer, *Tirant lo Blanc* (Barcelona, 1985); there are also earlier edns. by the same scholar, and attention should also be drawn to the edn. of A. Hauf with V. J. Escarti, *Tirant la Blanch* (Valencia, 1992). For ease of reference I have given chapter numbers rather than page numbers, preceded by the abbreviation TB, for those who have access to other good edns.

⁹ C. Marinescu (also known as Marinesco) was among the first to try to read *Tirant lo Blanc* as a text of value to historians: see his articles 'Du nouveau sur *Tirant lo Blanc*', *Estudis Romànics*, 4 (1953–4), 137–204; 'Nuevas notas sobre *Tirant lo Blanc*', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia* (1956), 287–305; 'Nouvelles recherches sur *Tirant lo Blanc*', *Estudis universitaris Catalans*, 23 (= *Miscellània Ramon i Serra*, i. 1, 1979), 402–21.

¹⁰ F. G. Perles Martí, *Joanot Martorell, Crestomatia* (Gandia, 1979); J. Villalmanzo Cameno, *Joanot Martorell* (Valencia, 1995).

¹¹ On Guy of Warwick note also Tyerman in this volume.

Valencian poet Ausias March. After his death the book was edited and completed by another Valencian, Martí Joan de Galba, whose main contribution, recent research suggests, was a section on the exploits of the principal hero in north Africa. Despite its clear references to Prester John and, on one occasion, a reference to the black African kingdom of Bornu, it is generally less relevant to the discussion here.¹² I shall therefore generally refer to the author simply as Martorell, except in dealing with the later passages, which are more problematic.

Tirant lo Blanc is not the only Catalan novel to survive from this period that provides a romantic account of wars in defence of Constantinople; the city and the war against the Turks also feature, though much less prominently, in the anonymous *Curial e Güelfa*, written in the period 1440–60, perhaps in Naples. However, the principal focus of this volume is on Sicilian rather than Byzantine affairs, and it refers with far more specificity to the era of King Peter the Great of Aragon; in other words, the late thirteenth-century period of the Sicilian Vespers. That said, this book shares with *Tirant* an interest in north Africa,¹³ and some of its Turkish passages will be noted later on. But it is important to note that this work survives in a single manuscript in Madrid, discovered in 1876, whereas *Tirant lo Blanc* had a very large readership. Indeed, *Tirant lo Blanc* was first printed about thirty years after Martorell wrote his own sections. The first edition consisted of 715 copies, and it was reprinted seven years later, with a Castilian translation, famously praised by Cervantes, in 1511. In the last twenty years or so, there has been a massive revival of interest in the book, particularly following the appearance of a slightly abridged translation by David H. Rosenthal in 1984, of which over 200,000 copies have been sold.¹⁴ Even though at times Rosenthal's work is more a paraphrase or précis of the text than a close translation, it makes sense, on the grounds of its fluency, generally to cite this version, with some alterations; there now exists a fuller and more literal one by C. R. La Fontaine, though even there the translator has not always understood the meaning of the passages we shall be examining.¹⁵

Tirant lo Blanc has been celebrated as the precursor of the modern novel, applauded for its realism, probed for its psychology, but read mostly, one suspects, for its clever eroticism, delicate rather than bawdy, but still owing much to the *Decameron* of Boccaccio, which Martorell apparently knew by way of a Catalan version. Indeed, a recent film of the book chose to focus on its erotic potential, with advertisements proclaiming the subject as amorous

¹² TB, ch. 384; M. J. Rubiera y Mata, 'Tirant lo Blanc and the Muslim World in the Fifteenth Century', in A. Terry (ed.), *Tirant lo Blanc: New Approaches* (London, 1999), 59–67.

¹³ *Curial e Güelfa*, ed. M. Gustà (Barcelona, 1979); P. Waley (tr.), *Curial and Guelfa* (London, 1982).

¹⁴ D. Rosenthal (tr.), *Tirant lo Blanc* (London, 1984 and later edns.).

¹⁵ R. La Fontaine, *Tirant lo Blanc: the Complete Translation* (New York, 1993).

intrigue in fifteenth-century Constantinople; but, we shall see, this is hardly a fair summary of the contents of the book, which was intended to appeal to military-minded men of Martorell's class, alongside men and women more interested in the love scenes.¹⁶

2. TIRANT LO BLANC AND THE DEFENCE OF THE 'EMPIRE OF THE GREEKS'

Setting aside the first quarter of the book about the exploits of Tirant and other chivalric heroes in England, one of the dominant concerns of *Tirant lo Blanc* is the defence of the 'Greek Empire' against the Turks, the Egyptians, and other Muslim armies (there is a general assumption that Mamluks, Turks, and north African sultans all have common objectives): among them are the King of Bougie, the King of Fez, the King of Persia, the King of Lesser Armenia, the King of Damascus, the King of Granada, and the King of Africa.¹⁷ The links between Saracen lords span the east: we are told that the King of Egypt is married to the daughter of the Great Khan, who commands six kings, and is even so less mighty than the Egyptian sultan. One of these lands is Karaman, whose ruler, the Gran Caramany, confronts Tirant during the story.¹⁸ The Greek Empire has been reduced to little more than the capital: the armies of the Grand Turk and of the Sultan of Babylon (i.e. Egypt) 'have invaded our empire with a mighty pagan host. Together they have conquered the greater part of our empire, and because of my advanced age I am unable to resist them', as the emperor writes to the King of Sicily.¹⁹ Every defeat for Greek forces is followed by dire predictions of the fall of the Greek Empire: 'Oh Greece, I see you orphaned, widowed and forsaken! Now I fear you will have a new master!';²⁰ Tirant himself bewails the fate of the Greeks with the lament, in Rosenthal's compressed paraphrase, 'what torments me most is to think of those Turks being declared victors, for I know destruction awaits the Greeks, who will be punished for my sins'.²¹

An evil courtier, the Viuda Reposada (Easy-going Widow) wreaks havoc by persuading him that Carmesina, the daughter of the Greek emperor, is the mistress of a black slave, and Tirant utters these words in the middle of a prayer aboard a storm-driven ship: 'we shall die for your sins, which will destroy the Greek Empire'.²² The Greeks 'recall your past feats and look to you for salvation'.²³ Following his tremendous successes in north Africa—not merely the conquest of many a kingdom but the conversion of tens of

¹⁶ <http://www.arclightfilms.com/films/tirantloblanc/tirantloblancposter.pdf>

¹⁷ *TB*, ch. 321.

¹⁸ *TB*, ch. 151.

¹⁹ *TB*, ch. 115.

²⁰ *TB*, ch. 288.

²¹ *TB*, ch. 291.

²² *TB*, ch. 297.

²³ *TB*, ch. 36.

thousands of Moors—Tirant is sent a letter by the Greek emperor, begging him to return to Greece:

Divine Providence has not yet permitted such a disaster, but we are truly in great danger and lose ground every day as the Turks fatten upon our empire, which has been reduced to Constantinople, Pera and a few castles. . . . To conquer the world is too small a task for a knight whose very name fills the Grand Turk and sultan with dread. Act in accordance with your nature, and come quickly if any love dwells within you.²⁴

This extraordinary reputation within the Greek world went back to Tirant's feats of arms at Rhodes. Tirant proves his ingenuity and confirms his bravery in the defence of Rhodes, which I have already mentioned, and works closely with several European rulers, including the King of France and the King of Sicily. He also achieves stunning victories against the Turks in what appears to be both the European and Asian lands under Turkish rule, as far afield as Trebizond (though here Martorell's command of geography falls apart), recovering something like 372 cities from the Turks.²⁵ Constantinople is no longer a lone Christian island surrounded by Turkish-held lands in which the Christians are held in subjection, and his rewards include the granting of the title of Caesar by a grateful Greek emperor, an aged figure variously called Frederick and Henry, who expects Tirant to succeed to the Greek throne after his marriage to his only daughter Carmesina. In all this, there is only one suggestion that the Christians of the Greek Empire are anything but devout Catholics. This exception occurs near the end of the book, as Tirant victoriously sweeps through Turkish-held lands in Greece; at Stagira, 'Tirant also reconverted the renegade Greeks, making them swear fealty to him and the emperor. All infidels who clung to their faith were expelled from the city, which is Aristotle's birthplace and whose inhabitants worship him as a saint.'²⁶ The words are probably those of Galba, the continuator of *Tirant*, rather than Martorell, and the reference is evidently to Greeks who have turned Muslim, not to Greek Orthodoxy. In fact, it is made clear that the Greek emperors possess special privileges from the papacy, including the right to deathbed absolution.²⁷

Somewhat strangely, Tirant is made to die of a severe pain in his side just at the point when his (already secretly consummated) marriage to Carmesina is about to be celebrated as a great public wedding in the redeemed city of Constantinople. It is not clear that Martorell intended to end the story on this note, which emphasizes the importance of spiritual over material redemption, and this looks like interference from the continuator, Galba. But to reduce the story to a series of military adventures, however excitingly told, is

²⁴ *TB*, ch. 396.

²⁵ *TB*, chs. 275, 459.

²⁶ *TB*, ch. 459.

²⁷ *TB*, ch. 476.

certainly to miss the point of the tale. Instead, Tirant's is a double conquest: the recovery of lost Greek lands progresses alongside the assault on the virginity of his beloved Carmesina, a mere 14 years old when Tirant encounters her.²⁸ This assault is described using a certain amount of military vocabulary: thus Carmesina's lady-in-waiting Plaerdemavida (Pleasure of my Life) tells Tirant: 'I declare you good and steadfast lovers, but I shall not quit this battlefield till I see you bedded, nor shall I consider you a knight if you leave without shedding blood.'²⁹ Soon after that Carmesina's knight 'now brought out his artillery and stormed the castle'.³⁰ The somewhat explicit chapter 436 is entitled 'How Tirant won the battle and forced his way into the castle', *Com Tirant vencé la batalla e per força d'armes entrà lo castell*, and may be a fragment of Martorell's original conclusion reused by Galba.

In a very broad sense, the story of the love between Tirant and Carmesina is presented as an allegory of the story of Tirant's service to the embattled Greek Empire; and it is made plain that if Constantinople is not saved from its attackers, then the honour of Carmesina will be sacrificed to cruel Turks or Moors: Carmesina's friend Plaerdemavida warns Tirant:

The Turks have subdued Greece and will soon take Constantinople, imprisoning the emperor and your beloved wife. Oh hapless knight, will you let your lady be captured? While you conquer this sinful land, infidels will enslave her... Beware, wretched knight, lest Saracens take her virginity and empire, which, though you do not deserve them, she was saving for you, spurning countless kings for a lowly knight who would be nothing without his captaincy. Imitate your worthy ancestors, who preferred honour to worldly riches, and turn from Africa towards the East, where you shall behold your happiness.³¹

Plaerdemavida had herself been a captive in Muslim hands, and her husband Diafebus had survived cruel imprisonment, emerging pale and emaciated.

One solution for turning the tide of Turkish advance offered by the authors of *Tirant* has striking parallels with ideas first encountered in the writings of Ramon Llull and his contemporaries in the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries: the notion that the conversion and conquest of the Maghrib would provide the necessary momentum for a great drive eastwards. You recover Jerusalem by capturing Fez first of all. At one point, the author (on this occasion almost certainly Galba) presents the speech of a papal legate, Joan Ferrer of Lleida, a Mercedarian friar and master of theology 'who spoke the Moorish tongue very well'. Joan urges the conquered Saracens of north Africa to accept baptism in order to avoid the fiery hell to which Saracens condemn themselves by spurning God's commandments; then they can enjoy crusading privileges because, already purged of sin, only two fates

²⁸ TB, ch. 229.

²⁹ TB, ch. 277.

³⁰ TB, ch. 280.

³¹ TB, ch. 357.

await them: 'to die in battle and go to Heaven, or to live and win both earthly and celestial glory'.³² Their captain will not so much be Tirant as Christ.

He will give us victory over the Grand Turk and the sultan. We shall reconquer the Greek Empire, which they have tyrannically occupied, just as we subdued the kingdoms of Tunis, Tlemcen, Fez and Bougie, whereupon God will reward us in Heaven and all men will praise our exploits.³³

Joan Ferrer is clearly a highly charismatic figure because his speech results within three days in the conversion of 340,000 north Africans, as well as the rapid foundation of new churches and monasteries.³⁴ Thus the conquest of Tlemcen, Tunis, and Africa (i.e. Mahdia), renders possible a great campaign in which Christian forces from north Africa will join those of Sicily, France, Greece, and other kingdoms to push back the Turks: in the words of Tirant's emissary to his old friend King Philip of Sicily, 'knowing that the Turks have undone his conquests, our captain has decided to relieve Constantinople. Barbary is with him and ready to sail, wherefore he asks you to help deliver the Greek Empire, being so certain of your aid that he will be here shortly'.³⁵ This was further aided by the conversion of King Escariano: a neighbour of Prester John, 'a powerful black man much taller than other men', he possessed a great treasure and had earlier been the ally of the King of Tunis.³⁶ This figure was clearly conjured up by Martorell or Galba following the contact that was established between Alfonso of Aragon and the (already Christian) Negus of Ethiopia.³⁷ It is worth noting that nothing similar happens in the north African adventures of Curial in *Curial e Güelfa*. Here there are no fantasies about broad conquests, bloody slaughter, and mass conversion.

Yet, despite the pleasure the authors of *Tirant lo Blanc* take in large-scale massacres of Turks and Moors or their conversion, the salvation of Constantinople is seen in the end to lie in a long-term peace with the Turks, so that wise judgement in diplomacy proves to be another of the hero's skills. Based in Troy, Tirant managed to save Constantinople by destroying the Turkish fleet.³⁸ The Turks propose a 101-year peace treaty and promise to evacuate the lands they had seized in the Greek Empire, having been reduced to impotence, and in terror at Tirant's victorious return.³⁹ Tirant recommends to the 'kings, dukes and noble lords' who were fighting against the Turks that they should accept what amounted to an unconditional surrender.⁴⁰ In the end the decision is made to come to terms with the Turks. The recovery of imperial control over the lost lands thus becomes as much a triumphal

³² *TB*, ch. 403.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *TB*, ch. 404.

³⁵ *TB*, ch. 406 (to cite Rosenthal's very compressed tr.).

³⁶ *TB*, chs. 301, 405.

³⁷ Cf. *TB*, ch. 409; see also Holmes in this volume for western interests in Ethiopia.

³⁸ *TB*, ch. 418.

³⁹ *TB*, ch. 426.

⁴⁰ *TB*, ch. 427.

procession as a conquest; indeed, it stretches further afield than Greek or even Turkish rule:

after accepting their submission and leaving garrisons in the towns, the Christians went on to free the provinces of Hungary, Bosnia, Serbia and Epirus. Each of them contains a multitude of cities, towns and villages, whose inhabitants welcomed their liberation from the Moors' evil rule. Having subdued the cities of Arcadia, Tegea and Turina, they set out for Persia and conquered it by force of arms, since it had not been ruled by the sultan or Grand Turk. They also occupied the rich market city of Tabriz, as well as Bukhara and Samarkand on the Ganges. Tirant recovered so many lands and provinces in the kingdom of Persia that it would be a great task to recite them, for by his diligence and chivalry he recovered all of Greece and Asia Minor, Persia, Thessaly (where Gallipoli is), the Peloponnese, and Arte and Vlorë [in Albania]. Likewise, he sent his fleet which he had stationed in Constantinople under the Marquis of Liçana to recapture all the islands; and this worthy admiral, by his prowess and cunning, took all of the islands which used to belong to the empire, namely Corfu, Lesbos, Naxos, Melos, Scarpanto, Lemnos, and many others the book omits to avoid prolixity.⁴¹

Here, as elsewhere, Martorell shows his awareness of the book of travels of Sir John Mandeville, which provides him with his list of towns and islands.⁴²

3. THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN CONTEXT: THE ARAGONESE, THE OTTOMANS AND THE GENOESE

The central question for a historian is what this narrative has to do with the politics of the fifteenth-century eastern Mediterranean, particularly the policies of the Crown of Aragon in the face of the threat from Mehmed II and in the context of other Mediterranean rivalries, especially with the Genoese. One can certainly argue that the links between *Tirant lo Blanc* and contemporary events are there for all to see: there are several references to Scanderbeg (George Kastriotes Scanderbeg, the rebel against the Ottomans); to Vlorë in Albania (though it is displaced far to the east); and indeed to the isolation of Constantinople as a Christian island in the midst of a Turkish sea, all of which suggest that Martorell was well aware of current problems. Martorell certainly rates Scanderbeg ('Escandalor') extremely highly. Quite apart from Scanderbeg's international reputation in his own lifetime, we should bear in mind the

⁴¹ *TB*, ch. 465.

⁴² For the influence of the writings of Mandeville on contemporary western European literature about the eastern Mediterranean world in this period see also the chapter by Tyerman in this volume. Tyerman also draws attention to a contemporary western European recognition that negotiation just as much as confrontation was a necessary part of the conduct of relations in this region (see above pp. 265, 271, 284).

fact that Martorell visited Naples in 1455, and that Scanderbeg had close relations with Alfonso of Aragon and his successor on the throne of Naples, Ferrante I.

The aged Greek emperor begs Tirant to avenge the defeats the Greeks have suffered at the hands of the Saracens and their Genoese allies who supply them; the emperor promises to supply Tirant's own troops: 'At present, we have little grain, but our vessels will soon arrive, and once they unload I shall send them back to Sicily for more. Moreover, I have sent to Escandalor by way of Slavonia, asking him to send provisions.'⁴³ Although the term *Scandalore* was also used to indicate a Turkish lord, there is no real doubt here that this is a reference to Scanderbeg. The detail concerning Sicilian supplies certainly reflects reality, even if Martorell seems to misunderstand the sort of help Scanderbeg could be expected to offer (yet this could be a confused reference to the military help Scanderbeg did offer to Alfonso's son Ferrante in southern Italy in the early 1460s). Martorell also mentions a town called Altafoggia, granted to Tirant's cousin and close companion Diafebus; the town's name is identical to the italianized version of the name of one of Scanderbeg's own associates, Simon Atisfieri.⁴⁴

Earlier in the narrative, Tirant asks a hermit who have been the greatest knights of all time, and the answer is, of course, the standard group of biblical and classical heroes, including Joshua, Judah the Maccabee, Hannibal, Octavian, and then, in Christian times, the three discoverers of the Holy Grail, above all Galahad. To cite La Fontaine's translation: 'And now in our own times, said Tirant, to whom may we give honour in this kingdom? Certainly the good knight Muntanyanegra is worthy of great honour, replied the hermit, for he has achieved many deeds worthy of telling'; Rosenthal simply translates Muntanyanegra as 'George Castriota Scanderbeg', and La Fontaine agrees that this is once again a reference to him.⁴⁵

I believe there is a coded message here as well: Martorell was fully aware of the passionate interest of his own ruler, Alfonso the Magnanimous, in the Holy Grail, which can still be visited in a side-chapel of Valencia Cathedral, where it was brought from the monastery of San Juan de la Peña in the Pyrenees; and Alfonso's great triumphal gateway in Naples portrays the Siege Perilous.⁴⁶ Indeed, Tirant, Galahad, and Alfonso neatly converge at one point, when Tirant dons his armour for a tournament in which he will fight anonymously and win great glory:

On the feast day he donned his richly bejewelled apparel, at which everyone marvelled, for only his left leg was armoured, and atop his helmet, four gold rods sustained a copy

⁴³ *TB*, chs. 122–3.

⁴⁴ *TB*, ch. 161.

⁴⁵ *TB*, ch. 37.

⁴⁶ On Alfonso's love of relics, see the exhibition catalogue *Reliquias y relicarios en la expansión mediterránea de la Corona de Aragón* (Valencia, 1998).

of the Holy Grail, on which the princess's comb rested, inscribed with the motto: She possesses all virtues.⁴⁷

Yet the empress of Constantinople later expresses doubt about the value of wisdom for knights; valour is more important, she insists, citing the examples of Galahad, Boors, and Percival, who recovered the Holy Grail.⁴⁸ Even so, the emperor listens to Princess Carmesina's rebuttal of this view, and pronounces that wisdom is indeed more important than valour, but that the best knights will possess both qualities, a conclusion perfectly in accord with the outlook of King Alfonso in the 1440s and 1450s.⁴⁹ The king's political philosophy is also reflected in praise for monarchs who are magnanimous, the sobriquet that became attached to King Alfonso.⁵⁰

Another aspect of Alfonso's world emerges from an examination of those Christians whom Martorell classes among the enemy. For although the Muslims are castigated for their cruelty, Martorell finds space to praise wise Muslims such as the emissary of the Turkish and Egyptian foe, Abdalla Salomó, admittedly the son of a Christian mother whose philosophical musings are in fact lifted from a letter sent by Petrarch to the Florentine Seneschal of Naples, Nicola Acciaiuoli.⁵¹ But Martorell appears to know something about Islam too, probably because he encountered Muslims on his own estates in Valencia.⁵² He also had some knowledge of Mecca.⁵³ But occasionally his assumptions about conditions in the east seem simply to be based on knowledge from home, as when he describes the tactics of raising sluices so that the irrigation channels overflow and flood the fields, something he would have been aware could happen in the flat, carefully irrigated lands around Valencia.⁵⁴ It has been suggested that the inaccuracies towards the end of the book, where the Muslims appear to worship Muhammed, betray the less experienced hand of Galba, who also seems more hostile towards Jews.⁵⁵

But Martorell reserves much of his ire for Christian rivals. When Tirant defends the Greek Empire against the combined armies of the Turkish sultan and the king of Egypt, the allies of the Saracens include the son of the Duke of Calabria, the Duke of Andria, and the Duke of Amalfi, figures clearly modelled on the pro-Angevin opponents of Alfonso at the time of his conquest of Naples.⁵⁶ Giovanni di Ventimiglia appears too, and this figure (the Marquis of Gerace) had actually been sent into the Balkans by Alfonso the Magnanimous to proffer aid to his relative Carlo II Tocco at Arta.⁵⁷ The Duke of

⁴⁷ *TB*, ch. 189.

⁴⁸ *TB*, ch. 182.

⁴⁹ *TB*, ch. 186.

⁵⁰ *TB*, ch. 351.

⁵¹ *TB*, ch. 143.

⁵² Cf. *TB*, ch. 150.

⁵³ *TB*, ch. 152.

⁵⁴ *TB*, ch. 157.

⁵⁵ Further literature on this problem includes M. J. Rubiera y Mata, *Tirant contra el Islam* (Alicante, 1993); see also above p. 000.

⁵⁶ *TB*, ch. 141.

⁵⁷ Marinescu, *Politique orientale*, 99–100.

Calabria's son endures the humiliation of having to be ransomed after his capture, costing his father 55,000 Venetian ducats.⁵⁸ An emissary reports to the Greek emperor:

The Grand Turk, the sultan, and their royal allies then besieged the city, along with all the Italian and Lombard dukes, counts and marquises who had also joined them. When the sultan heard of the rout, he had himself crowned Emperor of Greece, and they say he will not desist till he has captured the duke's entire army and besieged Constantinople.⁵⁹

Meanwhile the armies Tirant brings in aid of the Greek emperor include a number of nobles from southern Italy who evidently represent the pro-Aragonese faction in southern Italy: the Marquises of Brindisi, Vasto, Arena, the brother of the Prince of Taranto, the Counts of Acquaviva and Aquino, Count Giovanni di Ventimiglia (Marquis of Gerace).⁶⁰ To any contemporary reader, the implication would be clear that the Angevins were standing in the way of Aragonese resistance to the Turks. In addition, Martorell's awareness of the situation on the ground in the kingdom of Naples must reflect knowledge acquired when he visited the *Regno* in 1455.⁶¹

Yet one group of westerners is presented as having particular sympathy for the Turks: the Genoese. In this respect, *Tirant lo Blanc* is quite unlike *Curial e Güelfa*, where the Genoese do include a corsair, but also some quite ordinary and uncontroversial Genoese—even a Catalan living and trading freely in Genoa.⁶² In contrast the narrative of the Turkish siege of Rhodes as told in *Tirant* is a story of Genoese perfidy. Before the Turkish attack even begins, a Genoese notary takes advantage of Good Friday ceremonies in Rhodes to visit the churches of the island, and seduces a 'gentle lady', which then leads him to tell her in confidence how the Genoese have plotted to capture the island in league with the Turks. She is so shocked that she confesses what she has done to a Hospitaller who is himself smitten with her, and this Hospitaller then has a difficult time gaining the ear of the Grand Master, who understandably has little time for Knights of St John who make merry with the ladies of Rhodes.⁶³ Eventually the Grand Master is told:

Your Lordship should know that two Genoese friars of our order have betrayed us, for on their advice the villainous Genoese sent all those ships with many soldiers but little cargo. The traitors in our castle have done a foul deed, removing the notches from our crossbows and replacing them with soap and cheese.⁶⁴

⁵⁸ *TB*, ch. 146.

⁵⁹ *TB*, ch. 131; Rosenthal gives 'stormed' instead of 'besieged'; La Fontaine, 'he plans to take this city'.

⁶⁰ *TB*, ch. 132.

⁶¹ Martí, *Crestomatia*, 51.

⁶² *TB*, ch. 76.

⁶³ *TB*, ch. 98.

⁶⁴ *TB*, ch. 99.

The result is that, duly forewarned, the Hospitallers and their allies massacre the Genoese soldiers, killing 1,400 of them. Following the siege of Rhodes, one brave *cadi* tells the Turkish sultan, who has just been crushingly defeated: 'your family plotted with those renegade Genoese who show pity to none, *as if they are* neither Saracens nor Christians, as though you yourself had been born on Genoa's ignoble shore'. The sultan is thrown into a lions' den, necessitating the election of a new sultan, 'who, to show his love for the public good, gathered a fleet of Genoese ships and had others built'. When the fleet sets sail with 117,000 infidels aboard, they impiously fly red flags carrying as symbols the chalice and host.⁶⁵ They raid Greece and carry off 16,000 little boys, who are sent to Turkey and Egypt to be raised as Muslims.⁶⁶

Tirant himself tells the emperor: 'since the Moors here are many, and have the support and aid of the Genoese who bring them much food, arms and horses, as well as well-armed men, we must do our utmost to give them cruel and harsh battle'.⁶⁷ Rather later, when Tirant is at war with a great Turkish prince, the Grand Caramany (Emir of Karaman), the Genoese supply the enemy armies, and Tirant's men seize two Genoese vessels laden with wheat, oats, salt beef, and wine, which their own army badly needs.⁶⁸ Interestingly, the lack of food supplies was a genuine problem for the defenders of Constantinople in 1452–3, and it was felt that food was needed even more than soldiers. Pope Nicholas V did send some food, but the ships he paid for were in fact three Genoese vessels.⁶⁹

If we turn to the hard realities of 1453, we can see that Genoa preserved an attitude of what Runciman called 'equivocal neutrality', and did not respond to Emperor Constantine XI's announcement that he was lifting all taxes on food imports into Constantinople.⁷⁰ Kate Fleet's study of the Genoese relationship with the Ottomans clearly demonstrates that the Genoese were keen to maintain ties both with the Christian armies and with the Turkish ones.⁷¹ Some of the most graphic evidence for this period comes from the writings of

⁶⁵ . . . *per ço com genovesos e venecians posaren penyora lo càlzer e l'hòstia consagrada, e per ço en les sues banderes porten aquella devisa pintada* (TB, ch. 107a, p. 333): this is interpreted by Rosenthal simply to mean 'which are the Genoese and Venetian symbols', but La Fontaine finds deeper meaning in the word *penyora*: 'they carried two banners. One was red and bore a picture of the chalice and the sacred Host, as the Genoese and Venetians had taken these Christian relics and held them hostage, and that is why their flags were painted with this device': a stern accusation indeed.

⁶⁶ TB, ch. 107a.

⁶⁷ TB, ch. 123.

⁶⁸ TB, ch. 163.

⁶⁹ S. Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople 1453* (Cambridge, 1964), 80.

⁷⁰ Ibid. 82.

⁷¹ K. Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade in the Early Ottoman State* (Cambridge, 1999), 12, 128.

the Greek historian Doukas. But it is striking that Doukas reads the evidence for links between the Genoese and the Turks in a very different light from that adopted by Martorell.⁷² This difference in perspective must be explained by Doukas's own background in Phokaia, where he worked closely with the Genoese, as secretary to the Podestà, Giovanni Adorno. In 1421, he wrote letters to Sultan Murad II on Adorno's behalf, in which he offered Genoese ships to Murad for his campaign against his brother Mustafa. Doukas also had close ties to the Gattilusi of Lesbos. We can thus contrast his testimony, sympathetic to the dilemma of the Genoese, with the very hostile message of Martorell. For there is no reason to suppose Martorell would have been unaware of the ambiguous nature of Ottoman–Genoese ties; indeed, he read them, as a Catalan might, as evidence not of neutrality but of partisanship. Similar partisanship is visible in some references to the Genoese found in the description of the fall of Constantinople by the Venetian patrician Nicolò Barbaro.⁷³

All the same, the evidence was susceptible of two contrasting readings. Before the great city fell, the Genoese of Pera-Galata sent ambassadors to Edirne to ask for their treaties to be renewed and they even supplied the Turkish cannons with oil; Doukas presents this as an attempt by the Genoese to lull Mehmed into the belief that the Genoese were his true friends, while Mehmed is shown to be a wily man whose trust for the Genoese does not run too deeply:

Before the tyrant's departure from Adrianople and arrival at the City, the Genoese of Galata sent ambassadors to him, declaring their genuine friendship with him and renewing past treaties. He protested that he too was their friend and that his affection for them was steadfast. But let them not be found helping the City!⁷⁴

So the Genoese promised to be loyal, thinking, in any case, that Mehmed would never succeed, any better than his predecessors (such as Murad II in 1422) had ever done. Doukas continues:

while feigning friendship with the Turks, the Genoese of Galata continued to send the Constantinopolitans as much aid as possible. Yet the Sultan was barely deceived. He took the view that he could deal with the Genoese much more easily once he had seized Constantinople, for then they would be at his mercy: 'I will allow the serpent to sleep until I destroy the dragon, and then one light blow on the head will make him reel'. And so it happened.⁷⁵

⁷² H. J. Magoulias (tr.), *Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks* (Detroit, 1975). Greek text in Doukas, *Ducæ Historia Turcobyzantina (1341–1462)*, ed. and tr. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1958).

⁷³ Nicolò Barbaro, *Diary of the Siege of Constantinople*, tr. J. R. Jones (New York, 1969).

⁷⁴ Doukas, *Historia*, ch. 38: 5; Magoulias, *Decline and Fall*, 212.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

Mehmed may have had his doubts, but the diplomacy of the Genoese is nevertheless presented by Doukas as clever subterfuge, which ensured that the Genoese had easy access to the Turkish camp, without Mehmed realizing that they were also fighting on the other side:

They circulated fearlessly in the Turkish camp, providing the tyrant abundantly with whatever supplies he requested—oil for the cannon and whatever else the Turks wanted. Then they would return furtively to the Romans during the night and fight at their side all day long. The following night others would take their places in the City, and they would spend time at their homes or in the camp in order to escape detection by the Turks.⁷⁶

When, during the siege, the Turks bombarded and sank a Genoese ship about to leave Pera, the Turks apologized; they had thought it was an ‘enemy’ ship. Indeed, after the fall of Constantinople, the Turkish vizier urged the Genoese to stay in Pera, promising more favourable business terms than the Greeks had done. Mehmed and the Genoese were evidently of one mind on the economic and financial benefits that would accrue from renewed trade between the Genoese merchants and Constantinople. This was reflected in the *aman* of 30 May 1453 in favour of the Genoese of Pera. Relations with Venice took longer to stabilize, and Venice and the Turks were in conflict from 1463 to 1479.⁷⁷ The Genoese adopted an individualistic approach to relations with the Turks; what the Genoese in Pera or Chios decided to do was not controlled by the mother-city.⁷⁸ Indeed, Francesco de Draperiis accompanied the Turkish expeditions to Chios and Kos, while, as we shall see, other Genoese took part in the resistance to the Turkish siege of Constantinople.

Martorell’s detestation of the Genoese thus seems to reflect contemporary anger at Genoese policies in the Mediterranean. That said, in other passages, possibly those attributable to Galba, we find Tirant sending an appeal for naval aid to Genoa, Pisa, and Majorca.⁷⁹ This may reflect another aspect of Genoese participation in the events of 1453: individual Genoese commanders did arrive in Constantinople in the winter of 1452–3, notably Giovanni Giustiniani Longo, with 400 men from Genoa and 300 men from Genoese Chios and Hospitaller Rhodes. Estimates of the exact numbers vary between Nicolò Barbaro’s diary of the siege and Doukas’s chronicle; meanwhile Barbaro is hostile to Giustiniani:

Zuan Zustignan, that Genoese of Genoa, decided to abandon his post, and fled to his ship, which was lying at the boom. The emperor had made this Zuan Zustignan

⁷⁶ Doukas, *Historia*, ch. 38: 15; Magoulias, *Decline and Fall*, 217.

⁷⁷ Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade*, 129.

⁷⁸ See also Wright in this volume for reflections on the various attitudes to Byzantium adopted by the Genoese in the eastern Mediterranean throughout the later medieval period.

⁷⁹ *TB*, chs. 387, 151.

captain of his forces, and as he fled, he went through the city crying, 'The Turks have got into the City!' But he lied in his teeth, because the Turks were not yet inside.⁸⁰

On the other hand, Doukas has a far more positive view of Giustiniani, saying that those on board were 'well-armed youthful Genoese soldiers full of martial passion'. He explains that Longo was a very skilled tactician; the emperor honoured him with the title of Protostrator (rather as western knights in Martorell's book receive imperial honours and titles). Constantine XI also paid Longo's troops—who can thus be likened to the army of a condottiere—and commissioned work on the city walls from Longo, who was to receive the lordship of Lemnos if Mehmed were repulsed.⁸¹ Yet some mischievous Genoese appear to have betrayed a plan by Longo to set the Turkish fleet on fire; and it is possible that knowledge of these events led Martorell to describe how Tirant destroyed the enemy fleet by fire during the siege of Rhodes. Here Doukas too makes plain that the Genoese of Pera-Galata are at fault, though in this case it is one group of Genoese who undermine the plans of another, led by Longo: 'Longo Giustiniani devised a scheme to sail to the biremes in the night and set them on fire. He prepared a trireme and placed on board the most experienced Italians and various military engines; they then waited for the appropriate moment. When the Genoese of Galata learned of the stragem, they informed the Turks.'⁸² The result was that the Turks blew up Longo's vessel with the loss of 150 lives. A handful of Genoese ships participated in the tiny fleet that defended Constantinople in 1453, alongside some vessels belonging to the Genoese community of Pera.

However, contemporary knowledge of the Genoese 'duplicity' towards the Turks does not entirely explain Martorell's own embittered attitude. To understand Martorell's hatred of the Genoese we must surely take account of the conflict between Genoa and Aragon in western Mediterranean waters.⁸³ This rivalry was based not simply on competition for control of the trade routes, and particularly the resources, now rather run down, of Sardinia: around 1458, Genoa functioned as an advance station for the French and Angevin armies which still aspired to win back southern Italy. But Genoa also had a long history of conflict with Alfonso the Magnanimous, who challenged the Genoese in Corsica and who sought to gain control of the routes linking the Italian south to the waters off Liguria by attacking Piombino, which owned Elba, in 1448. Indeed, the Genoese had never really forgiven the Aragonese for

⁸⁰ Nicolò Barbaro, *Diary*, 65.

⁸¹ Doukas, *Historia*, chs. 38: 2, 38: 15; Magoulias, *Decline and Fall*, 211–12, 217.

⁸² Doukas, *Historia*, ch. 38: 19; Magoulias, *Decline and Fall*, 218.

⁸³ M. Balard, 'Genova di fronte ad Alfonso V', *XVI Congresso internazionale di storia della Corona d'Aragona, Napoli, 1997* (Naples, 2000), ii. 1047–54; D. Coulon, 'Un Tournant dans les relations catalano-aragonaises avec la Méditerranée orientale: la nouvelle politique d'Alfonse le Magnanime (1416–1442 environ)', *Storia della Corona d'Aragona*, ii. 1055–79, esp. at 1061–2.

their invasion of Sardinia in the early fourteenth century. These hatreds are then transposed to the east in Martorell's narrative. It is also possible he had in mind the Genoese attack on Constantinople in 1432, which raised strong suspicions of a league between Genoa and the Ottoman sultan. There appears, however, to be no evidence that any Genoese, whether merchants or Knights of St John, played a duplicitous role in the Egyptian siege of Rhodes in 1444.

4. WESTERN MARTIAL CULTURE AND THE CRUSADE TO THE EAST

In a study subtitled 'A Program for Military and Social Reform in Fifteenth-Century Christendom', Edward T. Aylward has argued for a didactic military context for Martorell's *Tirant lo Blanc*. In particular he suggests that Martorell was keen to promote and raise awareness among contemporaries of some of the military techniques used by Tirant, such as the use of cannon and of tactics designed to defeat larger armies by splitting them apart and attacking them in segments. He emphasizes that the prologue to Martorell's book 'is nothing more than an unabashed encomium for the military establishment'; he also argues that Martorell shows an 'ability to telescope several centuries of evolution and advancement in military technology and battlefield tactics into the lifetime of one man'.⁸⁴ Of course, this interpretation is underpinned by the proposition that occasional references, taken rather out of context, from a vast meandering work, can be brought together to identify its essential message—an approach which may have certain dangers. Certainly, the multi-layered way in which Martorell handles the Greek Empire suggests that it may be dangerous to reduce his text simply to a concatenation of points of tactical detail.

That caveat aside, Aylward has an important point to make in his argument that Martorell's hero is a composite character whose historical roots lie further back in time, especially in the career of Roger de Flor, the commander who led the Catalan Company of mercenaries in Byzantine service against the Turks from 1302 onwards. It is also clear too that Martorell was greatly influenced by the chronicle of Ramon Muntaner, one of the leaders of the early fourteenth-century Catalan Company, whose aggressive expedition to the east took them from service with the Byzantines to the eventual conquest of the Duchy of Athens.⁸⁵ Like Roger de Flor, Tirant becomes 'Caesar' of the Greek Empire (Byzantium); like Roger, he suffers from jealous Greek rivals, in Tirant's case the Duke of Macedonia; Roger married the emperor's niece, though Tirant

⁸⁴ E. T. Aylward, *Martorell's Tirant lo Blanch* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1985), 13, 21.

⁸⁵ Ramon Muntaner, *Crònica*, ed. M. Gustà (Barcelona, 1979).

falls in love with the emperor's daughter and sole heir; de Flor also fought the Gran Caramany (Emir of Karaman) in Anatolia. It has even been suggested that the sudden death of Tirant, as a result not of conspiracy and assassination but of appendicitis or a heart attack, depending on how you interpret the symptoms, is borrowed from the sudden end that Roger de Flor met near Adrianople (Edirne). All this must reflect Martorell's enthusiastic reading of Muntaner's chronicle and perhaps other lost sources. However, Karaman/Caramany was also the subject of contemporary interest: in 1451 Bernat de Vilamari led a raid against a Turkish port established by the current ruler of Karaman.⁸⁶ Certainly, the image of a western hero who marches deep into Anatolia to recover lands lost to the Turks fits the model of Roger de Flor very well. For Aylward, Tirant is 'the ideal Christian commander'. Martorell is keen to stress the importance and value of the knightly orders, but he also, according to Aylward, seeks to show how cunning must be put to good use, as in the description of Genoese subterfuge during the siege of Rhodes (a rather odd example, since here it is Tirant's enemy who shows ingenuity, by damaging the crossbows of the defenders). More convincing, perhaps, is Aylward's suggestion that Martorell demonstrates the benefits of taking advantage of darkness to surprise an enemy fleet. Tirant's own fleet sails from Troy and attacks the Turkish navy before dawn, thereby liberating Constantinople from the Turkish threat, and forcing the Turks to agree to highly disadvantageous terms. And, as has been seen, Martorell indicates that diplomacy as well as war is needed in order to achieve the withdrawal of the Turks from the Greek Empire.

Now, there is good reason to think that Martorell, himself a knight, sought to convey to his readers a certain amount of practical advice about how to combat the Turks. Aylward may be right that Martorell's hero shows a gradual increase in his use of ingenuity and careful calculation; the rather crude gladiator of the early parts of the book is indeed transformed into a sage commander who earns respect not just for his strength but also for his judgement, though this argument is then complicated by the probability that the latter sections of the book, in which a more politically adept Tirant appears, were the work of the continuator Galba. It would probably be more accurate to say that the book contains snippets of advice on how to deal with the Turkish foe. And indeed, this military advice context also seems to make sense of *Curial e Güelfa*, where towards the end Curial becomes Constable of the Byzantine Empire, leading armies deep into Anatolia against the Turks. Here, quite precise recommendations are made about the appropriate tactics to adopt when facing a Turkish army: 'Curial studied the manner of fighting of the Turks, who would engage every day in hand-to-hand combat whoever was prepared to bear arms . . . They also skirmished in bands, and sometimes many

⁸⁶ Marinescu, *Politique orientale*, 213.

different nations joined in skirmishing, so that it was more like a fight to the death than a skirmish.⁸⁷ *Curial* too is in part a reconstituted Roger de Flor, and it used to be argued that his story also owes a good deal to Muntaner's early fourteenth-century chronicle, though recent scholarship has shed doubt on this. His own view of the conflict between Greeks and Turks is brief and not very illuminating: the Turks have invaded the empire and the great battle between the emperor and the sultan is presented as a massive tournament, in which St George, patron saint of the Catalans, confers his arms (identical to those of crusaders or of Sir Galahad) on Curial and comes to his defence. We do not know if the relatively brief section in *Curial e Güelfa* on the Turkish war was written before or after 1453, though the book dates to the period 1440–60, and this section is close to the end of the manuscript.

Tactics, however, form only part of the problem of how western observers saw the dying Byzantine Empire. There also existed a bigger political question concerning the amount of aid the west was prepared to provide to Byzantium in its last days. An essential point, however, is that the account of the 'Greek Empire' offered by Martorell is not fixed in time, but is deliberately timeless. That is to say, Martorell must have written all or most of the work after the fall of Constantinople to Mehmed II, and yet the image he presents only occasionally alludes to modern dilemmas, as in the case of his references to Scanderbeg. In that sense, his advice had come, as he well knew, too late to save Byzantium. And yet in 1460 there were still significant areas of the Byzantine world that had not succumbed to the Turks, including areas in the Morea, so the idea that the last redoubt had not yet fallen, even if that last redoubt was not Constantinople, may well have been in his mind, and still more in the mind of Galba, who seems to have penned the extraordinary crusading sermon delivered by the papal legate to the north African converts, which I have already cited.

Tirant lo Blanc should not, therefore, be read as a detailed exposition of how to recover Constantinople. But it can be read as a passionate plea for greater involvement by the west in the war against the Turks. Miquel Navarro would argue that the frequently voiced concern of Alfonso the Magnanimous' for the eastern Mediterranean was rather more than political posturing; fears about the Turkish advances were real enough in his south Italian realm, as the invasion of Otranto in 1480–1 would eventually prove.⁸⁸ And he, more than Venice, gave succour to Scanderbeg in the fight against the Turks in the western Balkans. Thus, had he lived to read Martorell's book, Alfonso would no doubt heartily have approved of its theme. *Tirant* is, as Mario del Treppo has suggested, in some respects an 'Alfonso-Tirant', who embodies some of the ideals of the Aragonese king and of those Catalans, Aragonese, and

⁸⁷ *Curial e Güelfa*, ch. 89; the passage marked '...' is missing in the edited text.

⁸⁸ Navarro, *Calixto II Borja y Alfonso el Magnanimo*, 216–25.

Valencians who see the east not simply as the major source of spices, but as the theatre of crusades for Constantinople and even Jerusalem. He points to the king's action in 1456, when he took the cross in Naples, 'per andare ala impresa contra el Turcho', followed by 2,000 devotees who acted the same way, though Alfonso never set out for the east.⁸⁹ Yet the attitude of the king's subjects was also coloured by the deep hostility that was widely felt towards the Genoese, a rivalry that encompassed the entire Mediterranean and that found potent expression in Martorell's book.

Nor should we lose sight of the intimate and vigorous commercial links between the lands of the Crown of Aragon and the Levant in the years following the fall of Constantinople to the Turks, to judge from solid evidence collected by Mario del Treppo, using the archives of Barcelona; this contact included trade ties to both Rhodes and Alexandria. It has already been noted that the Genoese were seen as both commercial and political rivals, and not always welcome in the Mediterranean ports of Spain. Yet Martorell's book is not a manifesto specifically for the Mediterranean ambitions of the Crown of Aragon; a better case in that respect could be made for the other Catalan novel of the same period, *Curial and Güelfa*, which does speak at length of Aragonese kings and of the affairs of Sicily.

Martorell wrote his book in the aftermath not just of the successful defence of Rhodes but also of the disastrous Varna crusade, both in 1444, not to mention the final fall of Constantinople. The book's aspirations to save Constantinople from the Turks may seem to be out of touch with the realities of the 1450s. Even so, it is important not to lose sight of the constantly expressed hopes that the Turkish conquest could be reversed: hopes made manifest in the elaborately staged *Vœu du Faisan* (Vow of the Pheasant) at the Burgundian court in 1454; the plans outlined at the Congress of Mantua in 1459, around the time the book was written; and the somewhat later campaigning thoughts of Charles VIII of France and Ferdinand the Catholic of Aragon around the time the book was printed.⁹⁰ Even if the love interest sometimes becomes the dominant theme of *Tirant lo Blanc*, the authors' message to their readers seems to be a wider one, aimed at reminding the knighthood of Europe, among whom Martorell counted himself, of their chivalric obligations towards the inhabitants of the former Byzantine Empire. In the real world, Constantinople had fallen; in the world of the imagination it could still be saved.

⁸⁹ M. del Treppo, 'Alfonso il Magnanimo e la Corona d'Aragona', in G. d'Agostino and G. Buffardi (eds.), *XVI Congresso internazionale di storia della Corona d'Aragona* (Naples, 2000), i. 7; the citation is from F. Senatore, *Dispacci sforzeschi di Napoli, i. 1444 al 2 luglio 1458* (Naples, 1997), 299.

⁹⁰ For further interpretations of the 'Vow of the Pheasant' see Tyerman above, pp. 284, 287.

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Palestine in Late Medieval Islamic Spirituality and Culture

Robert Irwin

It never struck them as strange that though they were Hindus, they celebrated Christmas. In Trinidad, Christmas and Easter are celebrated by everyone, just as everyone celebrates the Muslim festival of Hosein.¹

The crusader kingdom of Jerusalem was a regime that was organized around the liturgy of Easter. A central part of that liturgy, the ritual of Holy Week at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, has been reconstructed in moving detail by Bernard Hamilton—from the assembly of the patriarch and clergy at the Sepulchre on Palm Sunday and their procession with the True Cross towards Bethany through to the Mass of Easter at the Sepulchre on Holy Saturday. ‘The purpose of the liturgy everywhere was to show forth the mysteries of the Christian faith, but in Jerusalem symbol and reality met’.² Those western pilgrims who could arrived in time for Holy Week. Others came somewhat later in the year, on the summer sailing in June or July, when there were further opportunities for ritual processions and pilgrimages out to the Jordan, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and elsewhere.

In the wake of Saladin’s occupation of Jerusalem in 1187, the city ceased to be dominated by the rituals organized by the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem and his subordinate canons. Steven Runciman and Edward Gibbon before him have eloquently evoked the state of the Holy Land after the fall of Acre in 1291 when ‘the Holy City itself sank neglected into a long, untranquil decline’,³ and a ‘mournful and solitary silence . . . prevailed along the coast which had so long

¹ V. S. Naipaul quoted in P. French, *The World is What it is* (London, 2008), 130–1.

² B. Hamilton, ‘The Impact of Crusader Jerusalem on Western Christendom’, *Catholic Historical Review*, 80 (1994), 707–10.

³ S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, 1954), iii. 474.

resounded with the WORLD'S DEBATE'.⁴ But, of course such a picture is somewhat overdrawn, and, after 1291, a visitor to what had formerly been the Kingdom of Jerusalem, might, if he had listened carefully, have heard the joyful chanting and ululations of Muslim pilgrims and dervishes piercing 'the mournful and solitary silence'. Moreover, there was a larger Christian presence in the Holy Land in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries than one might have guessed. In the first place, it seems that the numbers of pilgrims arriving in the Holy Land from Europe actually increased during the period of Mamluk rule. This was in large part due to the naval supremacy and efficiency of Venice and its achievement of a *modus vivendi* with the Mamluk authorities, perhaps also to innovations in maritime technology.⁵ Secondly, of course, large numbers of Christians continued to live and work in the Holy Land. These were the native Christians—of the Greek Orthodox, Jacobite, Syriac, Armenian, and other churches. Many of these Christians were settled in and dominated particular rural areas. Ronnie Ellenblum has indicated which areas of Palestine were most heavily populated by native Christians in the twelfth century—the area between Jerusalem and Sinjil, Sebaste and its environs, south-eastern Transjordan, western Galilee, Lower Galilee (Safforie, Nazareth, and Tiberias), and Mount Hebron.⁶ It is unlikely that the situation changed all that much in the three centuries that followed. Easter continued to be celebrated with some pomp in Jerusalem, though under Mamluk rule it is probable that a majority of the celebrants were Greek Orthodox.

It may seem eccentric in an account of Palestine in medieval Muslim spirituality and culture to begin with a discussion of Christian spirituality. But, in the context of the Holy Land in the late Middle Ages, the rituals and beliefs of the two faiths were not always easy to separate, particularly at a popular level.⁷ One finds Christians and Muslims, and often Jews and Samaritans too, worshipping at the same shrines and occasionally reverencing the same images for different reasons. For example, after the occupation of Jerusalem in 1187 the Latin Church of St Anne was converted by Saladin into the Salihi madrasa (a religious teaching college). The German pilgrim, Ludolph von Suchem visited the city in the late 1330s and he was able to admire the frescoes of Anne, Joachim, and the Blessed Mary's birth (which had not yet been whitewashed over by later, more iconoclastic Muslims).

⁴ Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. D. Womersley (London, 1994), iii. 654.

⁵ H. L. Savage, 'Pilgrimages and Pilgrim Shrines in Palestine and Syria after 1095', *A History of the Crusades*, gen. ed. K. Setton (Madison, Wis., 1969–89), iv. 66–7; for a more recent and slightly more pessimistic view about the number of pilgrims arriving in the east see C. Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West* (Oxford, 2005), 306–7; also Holmes in this vol.

⁶ R. Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1998), 283.

⁷ See also Holmes in this vol.

Ludolph was taken by the Muslim rereading of the imagery of the frescoes on the front of St Anne's offered by a Saracen woman called Baghuta: 'She used to live next to the church and declared that the picture of Joachim stood for Muhammed, and the painting of trees for Paradise, where Muhammed kissed girls. And she referred the whole of the painting to Muhammed and set it forth with fervor and would tell many more wondrous stories of Muhammed with tears in her eyes.'⁸ Ludolph seems to have been amused and yet impressed by the woman's piously creative misreading. The Cave on the Mount of Olives furnishes another kind of example, as it simultaneously served as the Jewish shrine of the Prophetess Khuldah, the Christian site where Pelagia atoned for her sins, and the Muslim shrine of the early sufi Rabi'a al-'Adawiyya (d. 801).⁹

More generally Palestine was a land haunted by dead saints and warriors and its caves and cemeteries were populated by the jinn. Springs and hilltops were the foci of pilgrimage for all the inhabitants of the region and trees were festooned with votive cloths by Muslims, Druze, Christians, and Jews. The custom of producing painted Easter eggs and staging egg rolling races was common to both Christians and Muslims.¹⁰ Apart from Jerusalem, the most important shrine in Palestine was that of Nabi Musa. The Tomb of Musa, or Moses, was situated south of Jericho (Ariha). It is alleged that it was Saladin who instituted the 'Id al-Nabi Musa, or Festival of the Prophet Moses, as a Spring festival consciously designed to compete with the festivities of Easter. The big procession to this hilltop complex of buildings was from Jerusalem. We have more direct evidence for the patronage of the Mamluk Sultan Baybars some three-quarters of a century later. His mosque at the shrine complex of Nabi Musa still survives.¹¹ An old *Baedeker* guide to Palestine dating from 1906, referring to al-Nabi Musa says 'This Muslim pilgrim-shrine of which we have no notice earlier than the 13th century, is visited every

⁸ Ludolph von Suchem, *Description of the Holy Land and the Way Thither Written in the Year 1350*, tr. A Stewart (London, 1895-6), 100-1.

⁹ G. von Grunebaum, *Muhammedan Festivals* (London and New York, 1958), 78-9.

¹⁰ T. Canaan, *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine* (London, 1927), 217; M. U. Memon, *Ibn Taimiya's Struggle Against Popular Religion* (The Hague, 1976), 4; R. Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages* (Beckenham, 1986), 97; B. Kedar, 'Convergences of Oriental Christian, Muslim and Frankish Worshippers: The Case of Saydnaya and the Knights Templar', in Z. Hunyadi and J. Laszlovszky (eds), *The Crusades and the Military Orders Christianity* (Budapest, 2001), 90. More generally, on Muslims adopting Christian practices, see. J. W. Meri, *The Cult of Saints among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria* (Oxford, 2002), 124, 131-4.

¹¹ Canaan, *Mohammedan Saints*, 193-8; R. Kriss and H. Kriss-Heinrich, *Volksglaube im Bereich des Islam* (Wiesbaden, 1960-2), i. *Wallfahrtswesen und Heiligenverehrung*, 150-3; J. Murphy-O'Connor, *The Holy Land* (Oxford, 1980), 265-6; A. Cohen, 'Al-Nabi Musa: An Ottoman Festival (*mawsim*) Resurrected?', in D. J. Wasserstein and A. Ayalon (eds.), *Mamluks and Ottomans: Studies in Honour of Michael Winter* (London and New York, 2006), 35-44; R. Amitai, 'Some Remarks on the Inscription of Baybars at Maqam Nabi Musa', *Mamluks and Ottomans*, 45-53.

Good Friday by a great Muslim pilgrimage, accompanied by many fanatical dervishes.¹² The main annual pilgrimage set out from Jerusalem on the road to Jericho. According to Taufik Canaan, a Palestinian writing in the 1920s, the festival had become known somewhat prosaically as 'the feast of umbrellas', because of the usual spring weather.¹³

The *mawsim*, or festival season, of Moses was one of scores scattered throughout Palestine, including those of the Prophets, Nabi Salih and Nabi Rubin and the female mystic, Rabi'a al-'Adawiyya, as well as scores of lesser folk who had acquired a reputation as a *wali* (a Sufi saint), or a *shahid* (a martyr). Since many of the lesser shrines were dedicated to members of Arab tribes who were currently living in the region, such cults often amounted to a form of ancestor worship. Such *mawsims* were the Syrian equivalents of the Egyptian *mawlid*s, or festivals organized around deceased saints' birthdays. Tents were erected around the shrines and free food distributed. There were processions with banners—demonstrations of the power of local tribes or Sufi lodges. Animals were slaughtered. Votive offerings were made, circumcisions performed, and traders and entertainers flocked to such festivals.¹⁴ It is noteworthy that such festivals were organized according to the Christian solar year, rather than according to the regularly shifting cycle of the Muslim lunar year. Religious practice in and around Jerusalem owed as much to the seasons of the year as it did to the text of the Quran.

Although the Festival of Moses was the largest Palestinian Muslim festival of the solar year, the Orthodox view was that, after Jerusalem, Hebron (in Arabic, Khalil) was the second holiest city in Palestine and Hebron too was the goal of many Muslim pilgrims. In the course of the reoccupation of Crusader Palestine, the Mamluk Sultan Baybars visited Jerusalem in 1263. He ordered the reorganization of its *waqfs* and the restoration of some of its mosques and had a khan built outside the city for visiting pilgrims. He also set up *waqf* endowments to provide bread, sandals, and small sums of money for pilgrims making their way to Jerusalem on foot.¹⁵ However, he was more concerned with Hebron than with Jerusalem. Hebron, which was a larger centre of Muslim population, was also a sacred site. It boasted the tombs of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, as well as those of Joseph and Lot.¹⁶ Although Ibn Firkah's

¹² Karl Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria with the Chief Routes through Mesopotamia and Babylonia*, (Leipzig, 1906), 133–4; cf. J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford, 1971), 245–6.

¹³ Canaan, *Mohammedan Saints*, 193.

¹⁴ On *mawsims* and the *mawsim* of Nabi Musa specifically, see Von Grunebaum, *Muhammedan Festivals*, 80–3; A. J. Wensink, 'Mawsim', *EI* vi. 903; Cohen, 'Al-Nabi Musa', 38–40.

¹⁵ H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taqi-d-Din Ahmad b. Taimiya* (Cairo, 1939), 31.

¹⁶ G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Muslims* (London, 1890), 309–27; Kriss and Kriss-Heinrich, *Volks Glaube*, 179; M. Sharon, 'Khalil', *EI* iv. 954; Meri, *Cult of Saints*, 259–60.

fourteenth-century *fada'il* ('excellences') treatise was mostly about the excellencies of Jerusalem, he added a final chapter on merits of Hebron (which incidentally included a rather suspect hadith, or saying of the Prophet, transmitted via Wahb ibn Munabbih, to the effect that going on pilgrimage to Hebron was an acceptable substitute for the *Hajj* to Mecca).¹⁷ At Hebron, Baybars set up and funded a *samat*, a distribution of food to the poor in honour of the Prophet Abraham. A special meal called *dashisha* was distributed in the mornings and evenings to the pilgrims in commemoration of the hospitality of Abraham (who had fed the angels). Baybars also banned Christians from entering the city.¹⁸ The fourteenth-century Muslim rigorist, Ibn Taimiyya denounced the dancing that took place at the annual festivities in honour of Abraham.¹⁹ On the other hand, his contemporary, the Ayyubid Prince of Hama and well-known historian Abu al-Fida produced a treatise, *The Inciting of Desire to Visit the Tomb of Abraham, the Friend of Allah*, devoted almost entirely to the life and legend of Abraham and the hadiths testifying to the merits of Hebron, although Abu al-Fida also mentioned such lesser local shrines as Lot's Tomb and Joseph's Tomb.²⁰ Abu al-Fida does not note this, but Hebron was also the site of the shrine of Shaykh 'Ali al-Bakka al-Majnun (the Mad). Ali the Mad had accompanied Baybars during the sieges of crusader Arsuf and Caesarea and the trances he had gone into in front of the walls of those places were held to have contributed to their collapse. In his lifetime, the Sufi saint was apparently almost as famous as Abraham for his hospitality to visitors.²¹

The Prophet Khidr, the Green Man who was guardian of the Well of Eternal Life and mysterious companion of Moses in the Quran, was also identified with St George. He was associated with various Palestinian sites, most notably the Holy Stone of St George between Bayt Jala and the pools of Solomon, but also with Lydda. There was another centre of the cult of Khidr on the northern slopes of Mount Carmel. A stone tower about five kilometres south of Bethlehem was also devoted to the cult of Khidr. Al-Khidr invisibly dwelt in Jerusalem and every Friday he performed the prayer in Jerusalem, Mecca,

¹⁷ Ibn Firkah al-Fazari, 'The Book of Arousing Souls', tr. C. D. Matthews, *Palestine: Mohammedan Holy Land* (New Haven, 1949), 38.

¹⁸ Ibn 'Abd al-Zahir, *Al-Rawdal-zahir fi sirat al-Malik al-Zahir*, ed. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Khuwaytir (Riyadh, 1976), 250-1; Al-Yunnini, *Dhayl mir'at al-zaman* (Hyderabad, 1954-61), ii. 337; Ibn al-Furat, *Ayyubids Mamlukes and Crusaders: Selections from the Tarikh al-Duwal wa'l-Muluk of Ibn al-Furat*, ed. and tr. U. and M. C. Lyons (Cambridge, 1971), i. 107-8, ii. 84-5; Sharon, 'Khalil'.

¹⁹ H. Dajani-Shakeel, 'Al-Quds: Jerusalem in the Consciousness of the Counter Crusader', in V. P. Goss (ed.), *The Meeting of Two Worlds* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1986), 208.

²⁰ Abu al-Fida, 'The Book of Inciting Desire to Visit Abraham, the Friend of Allah', in *Palestine: Mohammedan Holy Land*, ed. and tr. C. D. Matthews (New Haven, 1949), 43-137.

²¹ Mujir al-Din, *Al-Uns al-jalil bi-ta'rikh al-Quds wa'l-Khalil* (al-Najaf, 1968), 492-3; Ibn al-Furat, *Ayyubids Mamlukes and Crusaders*, i. 94-5, ii. 75-6.

and Medina.²² A yet more unusual shrine was the Turba Birkat Mamilla, which was the supposed tomb of the famous fool and joker, Juha.²³

Muslim preaching in the twelfth century had chiefly focused on Jerusalem and its status in the Quran. So too had the treatises on *fada'il* or excellences of a particular place. But as the crusaders withdrew from Palestine, lesser cults proliferated throughout the region. For example in the post-crusade period, Lydda reinvented itself as the site of the *mashhad* or tomb of a companion of the Prophet, called Ibn 'Awf. The village of Halhul boasted improbably that it possessed the Tomb of Jonah. Tiberias possessed the Tomb of the Quranic Prophet Shuaib, who was identified by Christians with the biblical Jethro. The well into which Joseph was thrown was also in the vicinity of Tiberias.²⁴ In such fantasies piety was combined with *l'esprit du clocher*.

Muslim martyrology expanded in order to compete with the popularity of Christian shrines. The cult of martyrs' tombs, some of which dated to the first generations of Islam and the Muslim conquest of Palestine and Syria, was in large part a by-blow of the twelfth-century jihad against the crusader states. Propagandists for the jihad wished to present Palestine as in all sorts of respects a peculiarly Holy Land and this was, in some vague sense, a response to the intensification of the Christian cult of the Holy Land in the twelfth century. But the proliferation of shrines and pilgrimages in the Holy Land was also in part a concomitant of the rise of institutionalized Sufism. We know that Saladin had Sufis in his retinue. They acted as fugelmen for his Holy War and when, after the Battle of Hattin, Saladin decided to have the captured Templars and Hospitallers beheaded, he entrusted the Sufis with this pious task. Saladin made a point of welcoming Sufis from the eastern lands into his territories. But there were no Sufi *tariqas* or organized orders in Saladin's Syria. The situation was more or less the same at the beginning of the Mamluk period. Individual Sufis might hold prominent, if informal, positions at the Mamluk court as Shaykh Khidr did under Baybars I in the 1260s and Shaykh Manbijī did under Baybars II at the beginning of the fourteenth century.²⁵ But Sufi orders seem to play no part in public events in this early period, though the Shadhili order may have been beginning to organize itself in Alexandria as early as the mid-thirteenth century. But during the Mamluk period there seems to have been a seismic shift in spiritual and social structure of Islam in this region and elsewhere with the rise of the *tariqas* to religious, social, economic, and political prominence. When in 1516 the penultimate Mamluk Sultan Qansawh al-Ghawri rode out of Egypt to confront the Ottoman Sultan

²² J. E. Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land, Moslem, Christian and Jewish*, (London, 1935, 2nd edn.), 45–53; Kriss and Kriss-Heinrich, *Volksglaube*, 154–9; Meri, *Cult of Saints*, 177–9.

²³ Hanauer, *Folk-Lore*, 64–8.

²⁴ Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 341, 451, 465–6.

²⁵ Irwin, *Middle East in the Middle Ages*, 53–5, 95.

Selim in Syria, he was careful to take with him the great Shaykhs of the Qadiris and the Rifai, as well as the Shaykhs of the shrines of Shaykh Ahmad al-Badawi and Sayyida Nafisi.

The organized Sufi presence in Jerusalem became important in the post-Crusade period, from the 1290s onwards. The Qadiriyya and Haydariyya orders were particularly prominent in Mamluk Jerusalem. Wild Qalandar dervishes also haunted the streets. Tankiz the governor of Syria and Ibn Jam'a the dominant *alim* in early fourteenth-century Jerusalem were partisans for the Sufis and their protectors from attacks by more rigorous Muslims such as Ibn Taimiyya. However, there were limits and a later member of the Banu Jam'a clan issued a series of fatwas against certain extreme practices of ecstatic dervishes.²⁶ Inevitably, Jerusalem played a significant part in Sufi symbolism and metaphysics. The great Andalusian Sufi, Ibn al-'Arabi spent time in Palestine in the early thirteenth century and in his *Kitab al-Israila ila al-maqam al-asra*, the *Mir'aj*, or ascent of Muhammad into the heavens served as the organizing metaphor for the mystical ascent of the soul from the earthly to the divine.²⁷

Less edifyingly, the rabble-rousing fornicator and early avatar of Rasputin, Shaykh Khidr al-Mihrani, protected by the favour of the Sultan Baybars, attacked and killed the abbot of a Georgian church in Jerusalem and commandeered it as his own *zawiya*.²⁸ The most obvious sign of the growing prominence of the Sufi *tariqas* was the proliferation of *zawiyas* and *khanaqas*, or Sufi centres in Jerusalem.²⁹ Moreover, some of the madrasas, or religious teaching colleges, in Jerusalem seem to have been staffed by Sufis, so that they were *zawiyas* in all but name. In this period the Sufis were more open to folk Islam and to cultic practices than their colleagues among the *ulema*.³⁰

Besides the various Sufi centres, Jerusalem also had a number of religious teaching colleges, or madrasas.³¹ These fluctuated in numbers, but there were, perhaps, a couple of dozen at any one time. Saladin had founded the first madrasa in Jerusalem in 1187. Jerusalem must have been more important as

²⁶ S. D. Goitein, 'al-Kuds', *EI* v. 322. On the important clan of the Banu Jama'a, see K. S. Salibi, 'Banu Jama'a: A dynasty of Shafi'ite Jurists in the Mamluk period', *Studia Islamica*, 9 (1958), 97–109.

²⁷ I. Abbas, 'Rihlat Ibn al-'Arabi ila al-mashriq kama suwwaraha "qanun al-tawil"', *Abhath*, 21 (1968), 59–91; C. Addas, *Ibn Arabi ou la quête du soufre rouge* (Paris, 1989), 237.

²⁸ E. Sivan, *L'Islam et la Croisade* (Paris, 1968), 182; Irwin, *Middle East in the Middle Ages*, 55.

²⁹ Y. Frenkel, 'Muslim Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Mamluk Period', in B. F. Le Beau and M. Mor (eds.), *Pilgrims and Travellers to the Holy Land* (Omaha, Neb., 1996), 63–87.

³⁰ Goitein, 'al-Kuds'; F. E. Peters, *Jerusalem* (Princeton, 1985), 416–21.

³¹ M. H. Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem* (London, 1987), *passim*. Peters, *Jerusalem*, index, s.v. 'law schools'. On the difficulty of distinguishing between madrasas, *khanaqas*, and *zawiyas* in the medieval Jerusalem, see D. P. Little, 'Jerusalem under the Ayyubids and Mamluks 1197–1516 AD', in K. J. Asali (ed.), *Jerusalem in History* (Buckhurst Hill, 1989), 191–2; D. Ephrat, 'Sufism and Sanctity: The Genesis of the wali Allah in Mamluk Jerusalem and Hebron', in D. J. Wasserstein and A. Ayalon *Mamluks and Ottomans: Studies in Honour of Michael Winter* (London and New York, 2006), 8.

an intellectual centre in the late Middle Ages than it had been in the pre-crusade period, when, for example, the religious scholar and mystic al-Ghazali visited Jerusalem in order to get away from other Muslims.

The minor pilgrimages to places other than Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem were known as *ziyarat*. Ibn Taimiyya and other rigorist Muslim theologians of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries wrote copiously on the subject of *ziyarat*, as they strongly disapproved of practices that were reminiscent of the rituals of *jahili* or pagan Islam. Ibn Taimiyya grudgingly acknowledged that Jerusalem was a legitimate goal of pilgrimage as the place to which Muhammed made his miraculous journey from Mecca and from which he made the *Mir'aj*, or Ascent to the Heavens. Moreover there was an unchallengeable hadith to the effect that Jerusalem was the third holy place after Mecca and Medina.³² But Ibn Taimiyya's polemics against the other shrines and the folk cults of Palestine anticipated the later Wahabi campaigns against similar abuses and accretions in the Arabian Peninsula in the late eighteenth century. In *Qaida fi ziyarat Bayt al-Maqdis*, Ibn Taimiyya denounced Muslim visits to Bethlehem. He also denounced excessive acts of veneration within Jerusalem, such as the circumambulation of the Rock. Circumambulation was a practice that should be reserved for the Kaaba. According to Ibn Taimiyya, in the post-crusade period, it was no longer meritorious to visit Ascalon or places in Lebanon, 'for they are no longer the border garrison posts where it formerly was meritorious to reside and fight in the way of Allah'.³³

Jerusalem's canonical status, which even the rigorist Ibn Taimiyya could not deny, was based above all on the Dome of the Rock and the ascent of Muhammad from that Rock into the heavens, but also on the holiness of the Aqsa Mosque, as well as the Caliph 'Umar's and later Saladin's victorious entries into the city. But Jerusalem had also been the residence of the Prophet Kings David and Solomon. Solomon, the master of the jinn, featured particularly prominently in Muslim folklore.³⁴ That folklore drew heavily on Jewish lore. Solomon's tomb was thought by many to be in the Dome of the Rock.

According to a saying widely quoted in *fada'il* treatises and attributed to Sufyan al-Thawri (d. 777 or 778), a respected traditionist, the supreme pleasure and felicity in life lay in eating a banana in the shadow of the Dome of the Rock.³⁵ More seriously, there were a vast number of traditions allegedly going back to the first generations of Muslims that attested to the holiness and

³² C. D. Matthews, 'A Muslim Iconoclast (Ibn Taimiyya) on the Merits of Jerusalem and Palestine', *JOAS* 56 (1936), at 7-8, 10-12; Sivan, *L'Islam et la Croisade*, 173; Memon, *Ibn Taimiyya's Struggle*; Sivan, 'Le Caractère sacré de Jérusalem dans l'Islam aux XII^e-XIII^e siècles', *Studia Islamica*, 28 (1967), 180.

³³ Matthews, 'A Muslim Iconoclast', 5-6.

³⁴ J. Lassner, *Demonising the Queen of Sheba* (Chicago, 1993); J. Walker and P. Fenton, 'Sulayman', *El* ix. 822-4.

³⁵ Memon, *Ibn Taimiyya's Struggle*, 75.

special status of Jerusalem and the meritoriousness of visiting the place. But it must be borne in mind that, as far as many Muslims were concerned, the holy status of Jerusalem and other Palestinian sites was based not on a Quranic text, or on any testimony that could be reliably traced back to the Prophet Muhammed, or his companions or succeeding traditionists. Instead, it depended upon pre-existing local folklore and especially on what are known as *Isra'iliyyat*, tales told about biblical characters, by unauthorized preachers and popular story-tellers. Muslims, Christians, and Jews tended to place the precise centre of the world, the *omphalos*, at or near the Rock. People came to Jerusalem to gaze at the navel of the world and, having reached the world's navel, many pilgrims would bare their own navels in its presence (according to the thirteenth-century Moroccan pilgrim, al-Abdari).³⁶ Additionally, according to the fourteenth-century *fada'il* by Ibn Firkah, the middle of the Great Fish who supports the earth was under Jerusalem.³⁷

From the late thirteenth century onwards Jerusalem was a place left marooned by the tides of history. Not only was it no longer the capital of a kingdom and the grand public theatre of the Latin church's re-enactment of and celebration of the Passion and Resurrection of Christ, but in the Mamluk period it had to compete with other regional shrines for the custom of pilgrims. In the later Middle Ages, the genre of *jihad* literature that had been revived and elaborated in order to spur the Muslims on to retake Jerusalem from the crusaders was redirected to other goals. The Mamluks made use of jihadist themes in their wars against the Mongols, the Armenians, and later against Cyprus. The Ottomans, who were to make a cult of the *gazi* war against Byzantium and who stressed their wars against the Christians in the Balkans, also later declared *jihad* against the Safavids and the Mamluks.³⁸ Now that Jerusalem was no longer the uncontested goal of a Muslim Holy War, locals may have become uneasy about its declining importance in Muslim ideology and that may explain the proliferation of treatises on the *fada'il*, or excellences of Jerusalem, in the post-crusade period. Some thirty such works were produced during the Mamluk period.³⁹

Of course, Jerusalem remained the principal goal of pilgrims from the west in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and it is clear that the city was economically heavily dependent upon this specialized version of the tourist trade. The locals sold relics and pilgrim flasks to the visitors, as well as precious stuffs specially brought into Jerusalem for resale to the westerners. It is clear

³⁶ Dajani-Shakeel, *Al-Quds*, 212.

³⁷ Ibn Firkah, tr. in Matthews, *Palestine*, 31.

³⁸ See Kastritsis in this vol.

³⁹ Sivan, *L'Islam et la Croisade*, 173; idem, 'Le Caractère sacré', 181 n.; K. R. Schaeffer, 'Jerusalem in the Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras', Ph.D. thesis (New York, 1985); I. Hasson, 'The Muslim View of Jerusalem: The Quran and the Hadith', in J. Prawer and H. Ben-Shammai (eds.), *History of Jerusalem: The Early Muslim Period* (Jerusalem, 1996), 349–85.

from the tariffs of entry fees, visa fees, and prices paid for souvenirs, provided in numerous pilgrim narratives, that the local Arabs were making a lot of money out of their visitors. Some of the holy souvenirs were quite gruesome. The much-travelled and prolix fifteenth-century Dominican friar, Felix Fabri (who has been dubbed the 'Proust' of pilgrim literature) was shocked by the practice of selling embalmed corpses of babies, supposedly the victims of Herod's massacre of the innocents.⁴⁰ Mamluk Jerusalem's economy seems to have been largely based on religious tourism; its next most lucrative industry was the manufacture of soap (and that does not seem to have been so very lucrative). Nompars de Caumont, who was in Jerusalem on a pilgrimage-cum-shopping spree in 1419 gave a long list of his purchases in the town—too long to be listed fully here, but they included a Damascus textile of red and gold, an ivory chaplet, four white silk belts, thirty-three silver rings that had touched the Holy Sepulchre, five 'serpentes' that were efficacious against snake venom, two pairs of gilded spurs that had touched the Holy Sepulchre, five Turkish knives, six pairs of chamois leather gloves, twelve more Turkish knives, a bone of St Barnabas, and a bone from one of the 11,000 virgins.⁴¹

The curious thing is that this central feature of the Jerusalemite economy went unrecorded in the extremely detailed account of parish pump politics and *faits divers* provided by Mujir al-Din al-Ulaymi's local chronicle *Al-Uns al-Jalil fi al-Quds al-Khalil*, written in 1490s.⁴² To read Mujir al-Din, one would hardly guess that Christians ever set foot in Jerusalem after 1187—just as one would hardly guess that just outside Jerusalem there were villages that were entirely Christian, or that there were annual spring festivals centred round the cults of Moses and Abraham, or that the Sufi orders were beginning to play a large part in organizing the communal life of this region. At no point does Mujir al-Din mention Christian pilgrims. However, the Spanish traveller Pero Tafur (who was in the east from 1435 to 1439) testifies to how desperate the governor of Jerusalem was to keep the pilgrim trade going. He escorted the pilgrims on most of their journey and when, in his absence, one of his officials demanded an extra charge for entry to the church that marked the spot where Lazarus was raised from the dead, he had that official beheaded.⁴³

But Mujir al-Din was an *alim* and what he mostly recorded were the comings and goings of the *ulema*. He took note of the arrival of Sultans and

⁴⁰ Felix Fabri, *The Wanderings of Felix Fabri (Circa 1480-1483)*, tr. A. Stewart (London, 1892), ii. 565-7.

⁴¹ Nompars de Caumont, 'Le Voyage d'Outremer à Jérusalem', tr. B. Dansette, in *Croisades et pèlerinages*, ed. D. Régner-Bohler (Paris, 1997), 1122-23.

⁴² Mujir al-Din al-Ulaymi al-Hanbali, *Al-Uns al-jalil bi tarikh al-Quds wa al-Khalil*, (Amman, 1973); cf. H. Sauvaire (tr.), *Histoire de Jérusalem et de Hebron: Fragments de la chronique de Moujir-ed-dyn* (Paris, 1876).

⁴³ Pero Tafur, *Pero Tafur, Travels and Adventures 1435-1439*, tr. M. Letts (London, 1926), 60-1.

important emirs in the city and he lamented the occasional Bedouin depredations in the region, but much of what happened in Jerusalem was either invisible to him or else all too visible but suppressed by him in his chronicle. What does emerge from Mujir al-Din's narrative is the relative poverty of late medieval Palestine and the decay of most of its religious endowments. Baybars and Qalawun in the late thirteenth century spent money on endowments for Jerusalem and Hebron and there were further rushes of expenditure in the centuries that followed, notably under Jaqmaq and Qaytbay. *Waqf* endowments, by nature, were almost inevitably eroded over time by inflation, maladministration, and corruption. And despite the endowments and despite the *fada'il* literature's insistence on the special merits of living and dying in Jerusalem, it is clear that by the late fifteenth century, Jerusalem was seriously underpopulated.

The phrase 'parish pump politics' was used—advisedly. The place was a one-horse town. It was a backwater to which disgraced Mamluk emirs were exiled.⁴⁴ It was also a place to which elderly or unusually saintly Mamluks chose to retire. (And by the way, to judge by the number of *waqfs* and legacies, there were also a lot of merry widows in Jerusalem.) The exiled Mamluks as well as the Mamluks who served in the local defence force and administration consorted with the Franciscans who from the 1330s looked after the needs of Latin pilgrims from the west. Mamluks also got on famously with the visiting western pilgrims. The Mamluks were often of Christian origin and they had spent a great deal of time in the saddle fighting and hunting. It was natural then that they should often find western pilgrims to be congenial company. The fourteenth-century pilgrim Wilhelm von Boldensele enjoyed the hospitality and friendship of the Emir of Jerusalem and his Mamluks. In the fifteenth century Felix Fabri testified how well the European pilgrims got on with the Mamluk officers they encountered camped at Gaza. Similarly, Anselme Adorno and his party got on famously with the Emir Fakhr al-Din and the other Mamluks they met at Jaffa. Anselm was fulsome in his praise of the charity and hospitality of the Turks whom his group encountered near Cana in Palestine.⁴⁵ Relations between pilgrims and local Arabs were usually more strained.

The religious history of Jerusalem and its surrounding region is mostly a silent history—something that has to be reconstructed from hints and allusions and occasional reports by outsiders. The official version of the history of

⁴⁴ D. Ayalon, 'Discharges from Service, Banishments and Imprisonments in Mamluk Society', *Israel Oriental Studies*, 2 (1972), 34; cf. H. Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlukiyya* (Berlin, 1985), 113.

⁴⁵ William von Boldensele, 'Traité de l'état de la Terre Sainte', in *Croisades et pèlerinages*, ed. Régner-Bohler, 1019–20; Fabri, *Wanderings*, ii. 442; Anselm Adorno, *Itinéraire d'Anselme Adorno en Terre Sainte (1470–1471)*, ed. and tr. J. and G. de Groer (Paris, 1978), 324–5.

Jerusalem as presented by Mujir al-Din was quite dull. The real history was more eclectic, a little wilder and stranger, and surely more interesting.

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Turks, Mamluks, and Latin Merchants: Commerce, Conflict, and Cooperation in the Eastern Mediterranean

Kate Fleet

In the period from the early fourteenth to the later fifteenth century the eastern Mediterranean was dominated by the Mamluk sultanate to the south and the Turkish states, of which the Ottomans were rapidly to emerge as the dominant and then the sole Turkish power, to the north. The once great Byzantine Empire, already in sharp decline at the beginning of this period, was to be reduced to a small section of territory around the capital, and then, with the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453, was to be extinguished altogether. Many Latin merchants were active in the region, in particular the Venetians and the Genoese who in effect divided the area between them into two spheres of commercial influence, with the Venetians dominant in the south and the Genoese in the north. Latin merchants operated throughout Mamluk and Turkish territories with trading communities present in all the major ports and cities. Latins also controlled various strategic islands. These included Cyprus, Chios (known by the Venetians as 'the right eye of Genoa'¹), Mytilene (Lesbos), which was also held by the Genoese, Crete, Mykonos, Karpachos, Santorini, as well as Naxos and Andros which, together with several other small islands, made up the Duchy of Naxos. This duchy was under the control of the Venetians, who also governed Negroponte (Euboea), as well as Modon and Coron in the south-west Peloponnese. The Hospitallers held Rhodes until its fall to the Ottomans in 1522 and, from the beginning of the fifteenth century, were also settled in the castle of Bodrum on the Anatolian mainland.

¹ J. Heers, *Genova nel quattrocento* (Milan, 1984), 239.

For the fifteenth-century Spanish traveller Pero Tafur, 'the Venetians and the other Italians set greater store on profit than on honour',² a trait that ensured their presence in the eastern Mediterranean, for this was a commercial zone *par excellence*, exporting commodities such as spices, slaves, alum, grain, and cotton, and importing goods, including worked cloth, from the west; silks, spices, and other luxury products from the east; and furs from north of the Black Sea. Constantinople, whose strategic location gave it control of the straits, the throat³ between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, Europe and Asia, was a major international emporium, a city where 'the buyers and the sellers of the market of the world all come together',⁴ as the Ottoman Latifi was to describe it in the century following its capture by the Ottomans. The Anatolian coastline bristled with trading ports, from the great slave market of Gelibolu (Gallipoli) to Alanya and the bustling city⁵ of Antalya (Adalia), 'one of the finest . . . and most handsome cities to be seen anywhere'.⁶ Inland lay the 'great and important city'⁷ of Bursa, a major market for all types of silk, jewels, cloth, slaves, and spices,⁸ and a meeting point for merchants from the west and the east, from the Mamluk lands to the south and the territories to the north across the Black Sea. To the south of the region lay the Mamluk territories with important commercial centres such as Cairo, the biggest city in the world, at least for the Dutch traveller, Joos van Ghistele,⁹ the teeming port of Alexandria, and the Syrian cities of Aleppo, Beirut, and Damascus, 'the best city which the sultan has, except for Cairo', with its large population of French, Venetian, Genoese, Florentine and Catalan merchants.¹⁰

The relationship between the Latins, the Mamluks, and the Turks was a commercial one, all sides driven by considerations of trade and money-making. As the Mamluk sultan al-Mansur Qalawun noted in 1290, he was willing to grant a treaty to Genoa in view of the considerable wealth that the Genoese ships would bring into his territory and the large sums of money that

² Pero Tafur, *Andanças e Viajes de un Hidalgo Español Pero Tafur (1435-1439)*, ed. and commentary J. Vives Gatell and M. Jiménez de la Espada (Barcelona, 1982), 189; ed. and tr. M. Letts, *Pero Tafur, Travels and Adventures, 1435-1439* (London, 1926), 152.

³ Tursun Bey, *Tursun Bey Tarih-i Ebü'l-Feth*, ed. M. Tulum (Istanbul, 1977), 41.

⁴ Lâtîfî, *Evsâf-ı İstanbul*, ed. N. Suner (Pekin) (Istanbul, 1977), 42.

⁵ Al-'Umari, 'Notice de l'ouvrage qui a pour titre *Masalek alabsar fi memalek alamsar*: Voyages des yeux dans les royaumes des différentes contrées (ms. arabe 583)', tr. E. Quatremère, *Notices et extraits des mss. de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, xiii (Paris, 1838), 371.

⁶ Ibn Battuta, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, ed. and tr. H. A. R. Gibb (Cambridge, 1962), ii. 418.

⁷ Ibid. ii. 449; Johann Schiltberger, *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger, a Native of Bavaria, in Europe, Asia and Africa, 1396-1427*, ed. and tr. J. Buchan Telfer (London, 1879), 40.

⁸ Bertrandon de la Brocquière, *Le Voyage d'Outremer de Bertrandon de la Brocquière*, ed. C. Schefer (Paris, 1892), 131-5.

⁹ Joos van Ghistele, *Voyage en Egypte*, tr. R. Bauwens-Préaux (Cairo, 1976), 16.

¹⁰ Bertrandon de la Brocquière, *Le Voyage d'Outremer*, 32, 38.

would thus accrue to his treasury.¹¹ Such considerations dictated diplomatic relations, with all treaties between the Mamluk sultanate, the Ottoman Empire, the other Turkish *beyliks*, and the trading states in the west being in essence commercial agreements.

The Mamluk and the Ottoman states have often tended to be treated in isolation, with scholars focusing on one or the other, partly as a result of the linguistic requirements involved. However, a comparison between these two empires which considers how they behaved politically (how, for example, they sought to legitimize power, or their use of violence for political purposes, something which seems more prevalent in Mamluk society than Ottoman) has the potential to produce exciting results and enrich our understanding of the inner workings of these two states which dominated the world of the eastern Mediterranean. One interesting question in this comparative context, and one which has not received much scholarly scrutiny concerns relations between the Mamluk sultanate, the Turkish states (including the Ottomans), and the Latin merchants. To be more precise: to what extent did these eastern Mediterranean Muslim states differ in their approach to the traders from the west? This is a question which is undoubtedly hampered by the nature and the scarcity of the sources but it is one which may have important implications for comparative research about how the Ottoman and the Mamluk states functioned.

The requirements of Latin merchants in the region were broadly the same whether they were operating in Turkish or Mamluk territory, while both the Turks and the Mamluks shared the same drive for commercial profit. In consequence many of the mechanisms of trade were the same: the presence of Latin consuls, the controls of customs collections, the guarantees of protection of merchants. However, the application of certain trade-related practices varied, and Mamluk and Ottoman approaches to issues such as jurisdiction over foreign merchants, runaway slaves, or the treatment of Latin traders appear to have differed, with the Ottomans seemingly adopting a more conciliatory stance, less concerned about potential Latin aggression and less harsh in reprisals against Latins than the Mamluks, who in general appear to have been more hostile in their handling of their foreign merchants.

On certain issues the two states adopted the same approach, as they did for example over the question of shipwreck. Thus, under the 1403 treaty made between Süleyman Çelebi (who established himself in the European territory of the state after Timur's defeat of Bayezid I which plunged the Ottomans into a decade of fratricidal fighting) and the Genoese, Venetians, and Hospitallers, if any ship became shipwrecked in Süleyman Çelebi's territory, both the

¹¹ S. De Sacy, *Notices et extraits des mss. de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, xi (Paris, 1827), 42, 48 (13 May 1290). For this treaty see also P. M. Holt, 'Qalāwūn's treaty with Genoa in 1290', *Der Islam*, 57/1 (1980), 101–8; idem, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290)* (Leiden, 1995), 141–51.

goods and the persons of the wrecked ship were to be safe.¹² A similar clause appeared in the treaty between İlyas, Emir of Menteşe (a Turkish *beylik* on the Aegean coast, revived after the Ottoman defeat by Timur in 1402) and Marco Falier, the Duca di Candia, which was also concluded in 1403,¹³ and in that of 1407 concluded again by İlyas and Leonardo Bembo, Duca di Candia.¹⁴ The Mamluk sultan al-Mu'ayyad, too, guaranteed the safety of Venetians shipwrecked on his shores under the treaty reached with Venice in 1415,¹⁵ as did his successor Barsbay in the treaty of 1422.¹⁶

In the case of a Latin merchant dying in either Mamluk or Ottoman territory, the goods of the merchant were to be handled by the appropriate Latin consul. A clause in the 1403 treaty between İlyas of Menteşe, and Marco Falier, Duca di Candia, stipulated that if a Venetian merchant died in Menteşe, his goods were to be safe and disposed of as ordered by the Venetian consul.¹⁷ Similar clauses appear in the treaty of 1331 between Venice and the *beylik* of Menteşe,¹⁸ that of 1353 between Venice and the *beylik* of Aydın (like Menteşe, an important Turkish trading state on the western coast of Anatolia),¹⁹ and the 1407 treaty concluded by İlyas, Emir of Menteşe, and Leonardo Bembo, Duca di Candia.²⁰ Under the Venetian–Mamluk treaty concluded in 1415, the goods of a Venetian who died in Mamluk territory were to be handed either to the consul or to his merchant partners (*compagni*);²¹ this clause also appeared in the Mamluk–Venetian treaty of 1422.²² The 1290 treaty concluded between the Mamluk sultan Qalawun and Genoa set out a series of steps for dealing with the goods of a Genoese merchant who died within Mamluk territory. If the merchant left a will, the conditions of the will were to be fulfilled. If, however, he died intestate, then his goods were to be handed either to the consul or, in the event of there being no consul, then to any Genoese present in the locality. If there were neither consul nor Genoese, then the goods were to be handed to the ruler of the region who was to keep them in trust until they were claimed either by written instructions or individuals sent from the Comune of Genoa.²³

¹² *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, ed. G. M. Thomas and R. Predelli (Venice, 1880–99), ii, doc. 159, p. 292 (1403).

¹³ *Ibid.* ii, doc. 160, p. 295 (14 July 1403); E. A. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade* (Venice, 1983), doc. 1403M *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, clause 10, p. 228.

¹⁴ Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, doc. 1407M, clause 12, p. 235 (2 June 1407).

¹⁵ *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, ii, doc. 168, p. 312 (15 Nov. 1415).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, doc. 174, clause 9, p. 324 (23 Apr. 1422).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, doc. 160, p. 294 (24 July 1403); Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, doc. 1403M and doc. 1403M *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, clause 12, p. 228.

¹⁸ Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, doc. 1331M, clause 12, p. 188 (13 Apr. 1331).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, doc. 1353A, clause 12, p. 213 (7 April 1353).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, doc. 1407M, clause 12, p. 235 (2 June 1407).

²¹ *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, ii, doc. 168, p. 312 (15 Nov. 1415).

²² *Ibid.*, doc. 174, clause 10, p. 324 (23 Apr. 1422).

²³ De Sacy, *Notices et extraits*, 38–9 (13 May 1290).

The Ottoman and Mamluk states invariably promised Latin merchants freedom of movement within their territories. The Ottoman ruler Murad I, for example, granted the Genoese, under the treaty concluded between them in 1387, the right to 'stay, remain in and traverse the whole of his territory safe and secure' and to buy and sell all the merchandise they wished 'of their own free will without in anyway being impeded, attacked or molested'.²⁴ Under the treaty made in 1403 between Süleyman Çelebi and the Genoese, Venetians, and Hospitallers, Latin merchants could travel freely to Süleyman Çelebi's territory;²⁵ while under that concluded in 1411 between Venice and Musa, the Ottoman ruler who held the throne briefly from 1411 to 1413, Venetian merchants were to trade unmolested within Musa's territories,²⁶ as they were under the 1414 treaty between İlyas, Emir of Menteşe, and the Captain of the Gulf, Pietro Civrano.²⁷ In a letter sent from the Mamluk sultan al-Mu'ayyad to the Doge Tomasso Mocenigo, the sultan assured Venice that he was happy to grant the request put forward by the 'loyal, friendly and cordial' ambassadors, Lorenzo Capello and Santo Venier, that Venetian merchants be able to operate in safety,²⁸ and Venetian merchants were guaranteed security in Mamluk territories under the Venetian-Mamluk treaty concluded with these ambassadors in 1415.²⁹ The same clause appears in the treaty between Venice and the Mamluk sultan Barsbay in 1422,³⁰ and Barsbay himself assured the Doge Tomasso Mocenigo in his letter sent to him in April 1422 that the Venetian merchants would be 'most safe' (*securissimi*) in conducting their affairs.³¹

In other areas, however, there does seem to be a difference between how the Ottoman and Mamluk rulers dealt with Latin merchants in their territories. Runaway slaves were a constant problem in Turkish territory and one that appears frequently in the treaties. Under the Ottoman-Genoese treaty of 1387, any Ottoman slave who fled to Pera, the Genoese trading settlement opposite Constantinople, was to be handed over to the Podestà, the head of the Genoese community, who was to pay the slave's price to his master plus 100 hyperpyra to the Comune of Genoa in Pera or to the Massarii (i.e. the treasury) acting in the name of the Comune, a sum that amounted to a hefty fine; meanwhile the Ottoman ruler, Murad I, undertook that any slave who fled from the Genoese

²⁴ Archivio di Stato di Genova (ASG), Archivio Segreto, Materie Politiche 2729, doc. 26 (8 June 1387); K. Fleet, 'The Treaty of 1387 between Murad I and the Genoese', *BSOAS* 56 (1993), 13–33.

²⁵ *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, ii, doc. 159, pp. 291–2 (1403).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, doc. 164, p. 303 (12 August 1411).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, doc. 166, p. 305–6 (17 Oct. 1414); Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, doc. 1414M, pp. 238–9.

²⁸ *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, ii, doc. 167, p. 307 (15 Nov. 1415).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, doc. 168, p. 315 (15 Nov. 1415).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, doc. 174, clause 23, p. 327 (23 Apr. 1422).

³¹ *Ibid.*, doc. 175, p. 329 (30 Apr. 1422).

into his territories would be returned, unless the slave was a Muslim, in which case a 'fair and just price' would be handed over instead.³² Under the treaty made in 1403 between Süleyman Çelebi and the Genoese, Venetians, and Hospitallers, any slave who fled from the Genoese to the territory of Süleyman Çelebi was to be handed back, even if that slave had become Muslim, and any slaves of Süleyman Çelebi in Genoese hands were also to be released.³³ The treaty concluded in the same year between İlyas, Emir of Menteşe, and Marco Falier, the Duca di Candia, stipulated that if any slave fled from either side and took goods from their masters, these goods were to be returned to the masters and the slaves would be free. If a captain or pilot took on board a runaway slave or captive then he was to be fined 12 florins, 'for the wrongdoers must have punishment'.³⁴ Both sides were to return runaway slaves in accordance with the 1411 treaty between Venice and Musa.³⁵

Such clauses dealing with runaway slaves seem to be absent from agreements between Latin states and the Mamluks, apart from a clause in the 1290 treaty between Qalawun and Alfonso III of Aragon in which it was agreed that if anyone fled from Mamluk territory to

the territory of the king of Aragon or the territory of his brothers; or goes with wares belonging to another and takes up residence in this territory; it shall be incumbent upon the king of Aragon to return the fugitive and the chattels with him to the territory of our lord the Sultan, so long as the said person is a Muslim. If he is converted to Christianity, he shall return the personal chattels which are with him.

This regulation was to apply equally to anyone who fled from the territory of the King of Aragon, or that of his brothers, into Mamluk territory.³⁶

Concern displayed over runaway slaves was presumably related to the economic value of such slaves as a workforce. Slaves were very much the driving engine behind the economy of the eastern Mediterranean in this period. Indeed, the reason that the Mamluk sultan was unable to retrieve the 1,500 Muslim slaves held on Cyprus at the beginning of the fifteenth century, whose relatives had complained vociferously to him, was that King Janus would not give them up as he needed them to work the sugar plantations on the island.³⁷ The Hospitallers

³² ASG, Archivio Segreto, Materie Politiche 2729, doc. 26 (8 June 1387); Fleet, 'Treaty', 13–33. The issue of runaway slaves also appears in the instructions given by the Venetian Senate to its envoy to Murad I, Daniel Corner, in 1387: J. Chrysostomides, *Monumenta Peloponnesiaca* (Camberley, Surrey, 1995), doc. 35, p. 83 (3 Oct. 1387).

³³ *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum*, ii, doc. 159, p. 292 (1403); G. T. Dennis, 'The Byzantine-Turkish Treaty of 1403', *OCP* 33 (1967), 82–7; repr. in his *Byzantium and the Franks* (London, 1982), no. VI.

³⁴ *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum*, ii, doc. 160, p. 295 (24 July 1403); Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, doc. 1403M and doc. 1403M, DVL, clause 18, p. 230.

³⁵ *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum*, ii, doc. 164, p. 303 (12 Aug. 1411).

³⁶ Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, clause 17, p. 137 (Apr. 1290).

³⁷ Emmanuel Piloti, *L'Égypte au commencement du quinzième siècle d'après le traité d'Emmanuel Piloti de Crète (incipit 1420)*, introduction and notes P.-H. Dopp (Cairo, 1950), 79–80.

employed Turkish slaves on Rhodes, despite concerns over security.³⁸ The slave markets within Ottoman territory, in Bursa, in the various markets along the coast of Anatolia, and at Gelibolu (Gallipoli), for example, were extremely important, and it is possible to argue that the markets in the Black Sea region, at Samsun and Sinop, to which the Genoese shipped slaves in considerable quantities in the fifteenth century, were suppliers of the workforce for the copper mines of the region.³⁹ While it is, therefore, possible to account for why runaway slaves might be a problem, quite why the Turks were apparently more concerned than the Mamluks is more difficult to explain.

Latins, the Genoese and the Catalans in particular, seem to have been regarded much more as dangerous elements, at least on occasion, by the Mamluks than by the Ottomans. The level of Catalan unpopularity can be gauged by the fact that when the Florentine embassy arrived in Alexandria in August 1422, a boat was sent out to meet them, but fearing that they were Catalan the crew did not wish to approach but instead turned back.⁴⁰ In 1416, Salah al-Din ibn Nazir al-Khass, who had arrived in Alexandria to collect money, was told, as he was in counsel with the notables of the city, that the Franks had arrived in eight ships and intended to attack him and take him prisoner. 'He did not wait but got up quickly and in the ensuing panic fell and broke his leg and was carried to his home, then carried to the Nile and then he rode until he reached Cairo agitated'. The Franks then, in the account given by the Arab chronicler Ibn Hajar, attacked and 'overwhelmed the people of the city until they closed the *bab al-bahr*. The Franks attacked those Muslims who were outside the gate, killing 20 men and imprisoning more than 70. They took their booty and got on their ships. Then they laid seige to the city and exchanged arrows all night. Many Muslims fled from Alexandria'. The Franks also attacked a Maghribi ship which had arrived loaded with merchandise, 'while the people of Alexandria watched them powerlessly from the walls'. Reinforcements arrived but, by the time they reached Alexandria, the Franks had sailed away and 'what had happened had happened'.⁴¹ Apprehension about the Franks continued and in spring 1417, 'fear of the coming of the Franks increased and the people of Alexandria started digging ditches and prepared for it'.⁴²

³⁸ A. Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers of Rhodes Confront the Turks: 1306–1421', in P. F. Gallagher (ed.), *Christians, Jews and Other Worlds* (Lanham, Md., 1988), 87; idem, 'Slavery at Rhodes: 1306–1440', *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*, 46–7 (1976–7), 86–7.

³⁹ K. Fleet, 'Caffa, Turkey and the Slave Trade: The Case of Battista Macio', in M. Bernardini, et al. (eds.), *Europa e Islam tra i secoli XIV e XVI* (Naples, 2002), 373–89.

⁴⁰ Felice Brancacci, 'Diario di Felice Brancacci, ambasciatore con Carlo Federighi al Cairo', ed. D. Catelacci, *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 4/8 (1881), 165.

⁴¹ Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalani, *Inba al-ghumr bi-anba al-'umr*, ed. H. (Hasan) Habashi (Cairo, 1969–72), iii. 94.

⁴² Ibid. iii. 138.

Accounts such as that given by Ibn Hajar, which indicate the level of fear of the Latins, do not appear in Ottoman chronicles, such as that of Aşıkpaşazade, whose chronicle is one of the earliest extant Ottoman accounts and was written in the later fifteenth century. This again raises an interesting difference, for certainly there *were* Latin attacks on Ottoman territories. In 1344, for example, a crusading force of twenty-five galleys attacked İzmir, then held by the rulers of the Turkish *beylik* of Aydın, and in October successfully took the port, but not the citadel, an event which caused Umur of Aydın to weep tears of blood.⁴³ Umur, celebrated for his military prowess by Enveri, the author of the *Düsturname* which praises his exploits against the Latins, died in fighting at İzmir in 1348, struck down by an arrow which 'pierced his visor between his eyebrows' when he raised his helmet slightly as he climbed up a scaling ladder in an effort to see how far he had yet to go.⁴⁴ Ottoman naval forces under Çalı Bey were heavily defeated by the Venetians in 1416. Çalı Bey was killed in the encounter when the Venetians rammed his ship and 'hacked him to pieces and slaughtered mercilessly everyone on board'. The Venetians then 'boarded one trireme after the other, overpowering all the ships, and proceeded mercilessly to cut down the Turks before the eyes of their wives and children who were watching the battle taking place about a mile from the shore of Gallipoli'. The Turkish prisoners were taken to Bozcaada (Tenedos) where they were killed. Those Christians who had served the Ottomans 'for profit and gain' were impaled. 'To behold giblets all over the island like vines with those hanging thereon like clusters of grapes was a spectacle!' according to the contemporary Byzantine historian Doukas.⁴⁵

It might be the case that in general the Turks were not threatened by or frightened of the Latins, who did not, in fact, represent any great danger to them despite any minor military setbacks. Indeed, the Ottomans' own advance westward was relentless, apart from the disastrous Battle of Ankara in 1402 (see Kastritsis in this volume) which caused the Ottoman state to fracture, a situation which the Latin west proved incapable of turning to its advantage. Any overwhelming fear was felt not so much by the Ottomans as by the west, particularly after 1453 when, according to Piccolomini, the future pope Pius II, a Turkish sword hung suspended over everyone's head.⁴⁶ However, it would be difficult to argue that the Mamluks were in any serious way threatened by the Latin powers, who in reality needed the Mamluks far more than the Mamluks needed them.

⁴³ Enveri, *Le Destan d'Umur Pacha (Düsturname-i Enveri): Text, translation et notes*, ed. I. Melikoff-Sayar (Paris, 1954), 113. For the crusade Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 49–55.

⁴⁴ Doukas, *Historia Byzantina*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1834), 29–30; tr. H. J. Magoulias, *Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks by Doukas* (Detroit, 1975), 70; Enveri, *Le Destan*, 129.

⁴⁵ Doukas, *Historia*, 109–11; Magoulias, *Decline and Fall*, 118–19.

⁴⁶ Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (future Pius II), 'Lettera al cardinale Nicola di Cuesi', in A. Pertusi (ed.), *La caduta di Costantinopoli* (Milan, 1999), ii. 56.

Perhaps the explanation for the difference in approach to the Latins among the Ottomans and the Mamluks lies in the different political situation within the two states. From the inception of the sultanate in the middle of the thirteenth century, the Mamluks had operated within a far from stable power structure, the route to the throne being mostly through violence and usurpation. After the famous Battle of Ayn Jalut in 1260 at which the Mongol advance southwards was brought to a halt, the victor Baybars murdered the sultan Qutuz and took over the sultanate. He was to spend much of his time dealing with Syria, the perennial location of the rebellious throughout the period of the Mamluk sultanate. After the brief reigns of two of his sons, the throne was usurped, in what was to be a normal method of accession, by Qalawun who became sultan in 1279. Apart from the usual factional infighting which enlivened the reign of most sultans, Qalawun's main preoccupation was the Mongols, whose threat was eased by the death of Abaqa, and his drive against the Frankish states. In 1285 he took the last Hospitaller stronghold of al-Marqab (Margat) and four years later seized Tripoli, but was prevented by his death in 1290 from capturing Acre, which then fell the following year to his son al-Ashraf Khalil, who went on to take Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, and Haifa, thus effectively extinguishing Frankish settlement in the region. Murdered in 1293, his death was followed by a period of political turmoil. His very young half-brother al-Malik al-Nasir Muhammad was placed on the throne and, with two periods of usurpation (1294–99 and 1309–10), was to stay there until his death in 1341. Although after his death he was followed by his sons, grandsons, and even great-grandsons, they were mere figureheads around whom the great men of state fought for control.

Barquq, who seized the throne after a period of factional infighting in 1382 and survived until his death in 1399, was succeeded by his eldest son al-Nasir Faraj, who spent much of his time struggling to keep his throne, not always successfully, and campaigning in Syria. Faraj finally fell to al-Mu'ayyad, after whose death in 1421 there followed a quick turnover of sultans until a new, powerful figure emerged, that of Barsbay who claimed the throne in 1422 and stayed there until his death in 1438. It was under Barsbay that Cyprus was to become a Mamluk dependency. He launched three attacks on Cyprus in 1424, 1425, and 1426, in the last of which Mamluk forces destroyed the citadel of Limassol; the Franks were roundly defeated and Janus, the King of Cyprus, captured. On Janus's death in 1432, his successor John II swore fealty to the Mamluk sultan. But later Cyprus became, in effect, a Venetian protectorate under Catherine Cornaro, who came to the throne in 1473, and in 1489 Venice annexed the island, although tribute continued to be paid to the Mamluks. In the same year as the Ottomans extinguished the Byzantine Empire, Inal al-'Ala'i usurped the Mamluk throne to receive, shortly afterwards, an embassy from Mehmed II congratulating him on his accession and informing him of the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople. From the death of Inal al-'Ala'i in

1461 until the final demise of the sultanate in 1517, the Mamluk state descended further and further into political instability and economic turmoil (see also Holmes in this volume).

In contrast, the Ottomans operated within a much more stable power structure. Over the fourteenth century there was a series of apparently effective and relatively long-lasting rulers (Osman ?–?1324, Orhan ?1324–62, Murad I 1362–89, Bayezid I 1389–1402) who attained the throne without the blood-letting and turmoil usual in Mamluk politics. In this period territorial advance was rapid and military success, together with the economic policy pursued by the rulers, ensured the financial well-being of the state. Ottoman advance posed a serious threat to other powers to the west, while increasing Ottoman control of internal Byzantine affairs resulted in a vice-like grip over Byzantine politics and a Turkish domination which, as the fourteenth-century Byzantine statesman Demetrios Kydones noted, left the Byzantines fighting over the shadow of power (see also Ryder in this volume).⁴⁷ After the disaster of defeat in 1402 at Ankara against the forces of Timur, the Ottomans regrouped rapidly, with Mehmed I taking over power in 1413 and beginning the careful process of rebuilding the state. Under his son and successor Murad II the Ottomans recovered their position as a major power in the region, and by 1453 Mehmed II had taken Constantinople.⁴⁸

In consequence, it is possible that Mamluk response to Latin activities differed from that of the Ottomans not because of any effective threat offered by the west but due to the inherent instability within the Mamluk state itself which left it vulnerable to any disturbance. This may have made the position of Latin merchants in Mamluk territory much more insecure than it was in the more settled Ottoman political scene. Whatever the reason, it does appear that Latin–Turkish commercial relations do not seem to have been marked by the same level of apprehension, and this is reflected in the Ottoman dealings with Latin merchants, which were not apparently as confrontational as relations between the Mamluks and western traders.

One example of the more confrontational relationship which existed between Mamluks and Latin traders is their approach to Latin consuls. There were Latin consuls scattered through the eastern Mediterranean, including in Alexandria and Damascus; in Balat and Theologos (modern Selçuk) on the Aegean coast; in Samsun, Amasra, Sinop, and Trabzon (Trebizond) on the Black Sea coast of Anatolia; and, of course, in Constantinople. The role of the consul was, according to Piloti, a Venetian merchant from Crete active in Egypt at the end of the fourteenth and the first quarter of

⁴⁷ Demetrios Kydones, *Demetrius Cydones Correspondence*, ed. R-J. Loenertz (Vatican City, 1956), ii. 407 (letter 442).

⁴⁸ See Kastritsis in this volume.

the fifteenth centuries, to support and comfort the merchants of his state.⁴⁹ The role was one of governing and regulating all the merchants of his nation, and of representing them at the sultan's court to ensure that they suffered no injustice.⁵⁰ The Mamluk sultan's take on the position of the consul shows a certain amount of self-interest. Within the agreements made with the Latin states, the protection offered to their merchants and the permission to have consuls in his territories were all designed so that 'all the consuls have the opportunity from time to time to write and to show to the lords of the west the good treatment which I make to you'.⁵¹ As the sultan's remark indicates, the consul's position was not always a secure one, for the sultan had a tendency to regard the consuls as hostages for the purpose of ensuring the political outcomes he wished. With this in mind, the consuls, desirous of staying safe, on occasion sent back reports to their home states which presented the sultan in a good light.⁵² For the Turks the role of the consul was much the same being predominantly 'to help our merchants', as stipulated in the 1353 treaty with Aydın.⁵³

What was different was not the perceived role, but the treatment of the consuls. For the Mamluks, the Latin consul was a hostage (*rahina*) for his nation, in the words of the Arab chronicler al-Zahiri.⁵⁴ The consuls certainly spent time in prison for the misdeameanours of their co-nationals. In 1415 the aggressive actions of the Genoese ruler of Mytilene (Lesbos) resulted in the consul in Alexandria being summoned to Cairo and imprisoned.⁵⁵ Genoese merchants in Alexandria were imprisoned in 1405,⁵⁶ and again in 1411 when their goods were also seized.⁵⁷ In January 1410 the Venetian Senate ordered Lorenzo Capello, apointee to the post of consul in Alexandria, to go to the sultan and protest against the mistreatment of merchants. The sultan had apparently been harrassing Venetian merchants over paying compensation for the misdeeds of others. Venetians had been maltreated, and the consul and other merchants imprisoned, brought to Cairo, and apparently beaten.⁵⁸ Consuls on other occasions were subject to physical violence. Al-Mu'ayyad had the Catalan consul and a Catalan merchant with him stripped and stretched out on the ground and beaten. The beating was apparently so brutal

⁴⁹ Emmanuel Piloti, *L'Égypte au commencement du quinzième siècle*, 112.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 77.

⁵¹ Ibid. 78.

⁵² Ibid. 77–8.

⁵³ Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, doc. 1353A, clause 24, p. 216 (7 Apr. 1353).

⁵⁴ J. Wansbrough, 'A Mamlūk Commercial Treaty Concluded with the Republic of Florence 894/1489', in S. M. Stern (ed.), *Documents from Islamic Chanceries* (Oxford, 1965), 75.

⁵⁵ N. Iorga, 'Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire de croisades au XV^e siècle: Comptes des colonies génoises de Caffa, Pera et de Famagusta', *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 4 (1896), 543 n. 2.

⁵⁶ E. Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1983), 221.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 221–2.

⁵⁸ Ibid. 248; Iorga, 'Notes et extraits', 315, 318.

that the merchant converted, and the consul required medical treatment for six months or more before he was restored to health. The consul requested from the sultan that he be able to go to Alexandria and live there, to which the sultan agreed, provided that he remained within the city and that he not leave the country. The consul thus went to Alexandria where he lived 'in great poverty with difficulty', alone in the *fondaco* of the Catalans.⁵⁹

Such accounts do not appear in Ottoman sources, and while one could perhaps argue that accounts such as those of Aşıkpaşazade or Neşri do not talk about the Latin merchants, ignoring for example the constant exchange of Genoese ambassadors and envoys known from Genoese sources to have occurred in the 1390s, or the signing of the treaty with Genoa in 1387, the Genoese themselves also do not mention any such aggression towards their consuls. If there had been problems such as those experienced by the Venetian, Genoese, and Catalan consuls in Egypt and Syria, it would be extremely unlikely for Genoese sources to have remained silent. Further, Venetian instructions to their ambassadors to the Ottomans cover such issues as attempting to negotiate tax concessions on grain and a lower price for alum, as Marino Malipetro was instructed to do in 1384, for example;⁶⁰ they contain nothing about protesting over imprisonment of consuls or persecution of merchants. Indeed the Genoese, far from complaining about any mistreatment, were prepared to go to considerable lengths to accommodate the wishes of the Ottoman rulers, granting freedom from tax to the agents of Orhan, for example, in 1356.⁶¹

The Mamluk rulers also often imposed what were regarded as excessive exactions on the Latin merchants, and this was a constant source of complaint. Piloti referred to the 'immeasurable exorbitant exactions' extracted from the merchants by the Mamluk sultan.⁶² One of the issues to be addressed by the Venetian ambassadors to the sultan al-Mu'ayyad in 1415 was the excessive levels of exactions imposed on Venetian merchants by Mamluk officials.⁶³ In 1418 the Venetian consul in Alexandria, Fantin Viaro, reported that the merchants were once again suffering from extortion.⁶⁴

This type of complaint does not seem to appear in Latin sources dealing with commercial relations with the Ottomans. The instructions given by the Venetian Doge, Michele Steno, in 1406 to Francesco Giustiniano, the ambassador to Süleyman Çelebi, for example, do not contain complaints,

⁵⁹ Emmanuel Piloti, *L'Égypte au commencement du quinzième siècle*, 113.

⁶⁰ *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, ii, doc. 116, p. 194 (22 July 1384).

⁶¹ ASG, San Giorgio Manoscritti Membranacei IV, fo. 304^v (21 Mar. 1356); L. T. Belgrano, 'Prima serie di documenti riguardanti la colonia di Pera', *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, 13 (1877-84), no. 17, pp. 125-6.

⁶² Emmanuel Piloti, *L'Égypte au commencement du quinzième siècle*, 8.

⁶³ Iorga, 'Notes et extraits', 545 (27 June 1415).

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 587.

but are concerned rather with attempting to ensure smooth relations for Venetian merchants in his territory and to secure the Venetian position in Albania.⁶⁵ This applies equally to the instructions given to Daniel Corner, the Venetian envoy to Murad I in 1387, where Venetian concern was focused on Coron and Modon.⁶⁶ Similarly, the instructions given to the Venetian ambassador Francesco Quirini in 1390 related to the grain trade and the Venetian desire to ensure that Ottoman ports were open to their merchants, not to registering complaints about Ottoman abuse of Venetian traders.⁶⁷ Further, in these instructions the Senate stated a preference for dealing in the ports with Turks rather than with Latins. This indicates a more positive approach by Venice to Turkish officials than that shown by them towards Mamluks.⁶⁸

Another particularly interesting area of difference concerns the use of Latins by the Ottoman and Mamluk rulers. The Mamluk sultan certainly used his leverage over the Latin merchant community in order to sort out problems with Latin neighbours. As the sultan Faraj succinctly put it, if the Venetians wished 'to be in my country and to be my friends',⁶⁹ they would be well advised to give him the assistance he required, on this occasion over a problem with the Duke of Naxos. The sultan wished to retrieve Muslims who had been captured by the corsair Petro de Laranda when he seized a ship from Alexandria in the port of Antalya, and sold it off to Jacopo de Crispo, the Duke of Naxos. Applying considerable pressure to the Venetian merchants, seizing merchants and cargoes and preventing the loading of spices, the sultan in 1408 forced the consul and the merchants to agree to send an envoy to Naxos to sort out the situation and to ransom back the slaves.⁷⁰

The Ottoman approach, however, was one more of direct integration of Latin merchants, as is indicated by the Ottoman use of Latin agents. Orhan employed Genoese agents, Filippo Demerode and Bonifacio da Sori, who were granted tax immunity by the Genoese in 1356 at Orhan's request. They were described in the letter sent to the Ottoman ruler from Genoa informing him of this tax immunity as Orhan's 'friends and servants'.⁷¹ Orhan's son and successor, Murad I, also employed a Genoese agent, Giovanni Demerode, brother of Filippo who had acted for Orhan. The Ottoman-Genoese treaty of 1389 contains a clause stating that taxes charged to Giovanni Demerode, *burgensis* of Pera, for goods and merchandise belonging to Murad I and bought and sold in Pera 'at the time when Giovanni was acting for lord

⁶⁵ *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, ii, doc. 162, pp. 297-301 (30 Mar. 1406).

⁶⁶ Chrysostomides, *Monumenta Peloponnesiaca*, doc. 35, pp. 81-4 (3 Oct. 1387).

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, doc. 68, pp. 137-41 (6 Mar. 1390).

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 138.

⁶⁹ Emmanuel Piloti, *L'Égypte au commencement du quinzième siècle*, 96.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 96-9.

⁷¹ ASG, San Giorgio Manoscritti Membranacei IV, fo. 304^v = Belgrano, no. 17, pp. 125-6 (21 Mar. 1356).

Murad Beg', would be returned.⁷² The Ottomans also used Genoese tax collectors, Francesco Draperio tax-farming the alum mines in Ottoman territory under Murad II, and, apparently, also under Mehmed II,⁷³ while the Genoese Giovanni Adorno, the Podestà of Phokaia (modern Foça, near İzmir) tax-farmed alum under Mehmed I, an arrangement which continued under his successor, Murad II.⁷⁴ It is also possible that there were Genoese tax farmers operating for the Ottomans in the later fourteenth century.⁷⁵ Further, there is at least an indication that for the Ottomans a 'Turkish' consul or ambassador could be a Latin. The ambassador of the Turks in 1403 involved in dealings with the Podestà of Chios was Petro Longo,⁷⁶ presumably the same person as Pietro Longo Candioto, present at the Battle of Ankara, and ambassador of Süleyman in 1409 and consul in Theologos (Selçuk) the following year.⁷⁷

A further area of divergence between the Ottoman and Mamluk approach to Latin merchants resident in their territories concerns jurisdiction. While the Mamluks appear to have been keen on cases involving Latin merchants going to the *kadı*, to the religious courts, the Turkish rulers seem to have been more accommodating. The 1290 treaty between the Mamluk sultan Qalawun and Aragon specifies that transactions between Muslim merchants and Aragonese merchants in Mamluk territories were to be conducted 'under the jurisdiction of the Holy Law'.⁷⁸ Under the treaty with Genoa drawn up in the same year, cases involving Genoese merchants who sold goods in the customs house without the correct witnesses of the sale which was then repudiated went to the *kadı*.⁷⁹ In other matters, all Genoese were under the jurisdiction of the consul. Any case brought by either a Christian or a Muslim against a Genoese was heard before the consul. If the plaintiff was a Genoese merchant and the defendant a Muslim, then the case went to a Mamluk official in the customs house. If a Genoese received an injury in Mamluk territory, the consul could

⁷² ASG, Archivio Segreto, Materie Politiche 2729, doc. 26 (8 June 1387); Fleet, 'Treaty', 13–33.

⁷³ ASG, Notai, Tommaso de Recco, Sc. 77, filza 1, fo. L1 (1 Apr. 1449); P. R. Argenti, *The Occupation of Chios by the Genoese and their Administration of the Island 1346–1566* (Cambridge, 1958), iii, no. 222, pp. 658–9 (28? Oct. 1452); M.-L. Heers, 'Les Génois et le commerce de l'alun à la fin du Moyen Age', *Revue d'Histoire Économique et Sociale*, 32 (1954), 50.

⁷⁴ Doukas, *Historia*, 163–4, 178; Magoulias, *Decline and Fall*, 150–1, 158; Aşıkpaşazade, *Die Altosmanische Chronik des Aşıkpaşazāde*, ed. F. Giese (Leipzig, 1929, repr. Osnabrück, 1972), *bab* 87, p.88; Aşıkpaşazade, *Tevarih-i al-i 'Osman*, ed. Ali (İstanbul, 1332/1914), 99.

⁷⁵ K. Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade in the Early Ottoman State* (Cambridge, 1999), 134–8.

⁷⁶ ASG, Notaio Gregorio Panissario, Sc. 37, filze I, doc. 21: 'Petro Longo ambadori Turchorum', publ. by P. Piana Toniolo, *Notai genovesi in Oltremare: Atti rogati a Chio da Gregorio Panissaro (1403–1405)* (Genoa, 1995), doc. 22, pp. 74–5 (3 Oct. 1403).

⁷⁷ M. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca, *La Campagne de Timur en Anatolie (1402)* (London, 1977), 129 and n. 2.

⁷⁸ Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, clause 15, p. 136 (Apr. 1290).

⁷⁹ De Sacy, *Notices et Extraits*, 37 (13 May 1290).

appeal to the sultan for redress.⁸⁰ One of the instructions given by the Signoria to the Venetian ambassadors sent to Cairo in 1415 was to insist that litigation between Venetians and Muslims should be brought before secular judges, the *amirs* or *na'ibs*, and not before the law of the *kadı*, that is the religious courts.⁸¹ A case involving merchants of the Maghrib and the Catalans was referred to the caliph by al-Mu'ayyad, for example, and the Catalan consul appeared before the caliph to plead his case, unsuccessfully.⁸² Under the treaty drawn up in August 1415, the sultan agreed that mixed cases should be judged only by officers of the sultan and, in Cairo, only by the sultan himself, the *na'ib*, or by other officers,⁸³ a stipulation which reappears in the Mamluk-Venetian treaty of 1422⁸⁴ and that of 1442.⁸⁵

Such stipulations about ensuring that cases did not go before religious courts do not apparently appear in instructions to Venetian or Genoese embassies to Turkish states. Latin-Latin disputes in Turkish territory were handled under Latin jurisdiction by the consul of the community concerned, and there was no Turkish judicial involvement. In the case of Latin-Turkish cases, the determining factor appears to have been the status of the plaintiff, at least in the case of debt, where a Latin plaintiff would appear before the Turkish authorities in a case against a Turk, and a Turkish plaintiff would take his case against a Latin to the Latin authorities. Cases involving both Latins and Turks could be heard before Latin and Turkish authorities acting together.

Interestingly the 1454 treaty between Venice and Karaman, a powerful Turkish *beylik* which finally fell to the Ottomans in the second half of the fifteenth century, states quite clearly that the *kadı* could not interfere in the jurisdiction of the Venetian consul in cases involving Venetians. Even in cases involving 'any Turk or Muslim of any other nation' who had a dispute with a Venetian over debt, or for any other injury received in any way, either civil or criminal, it had to go before the Venetian consul who would judge the case as he saw fit in accordance with Venetian law.⁸⁶ Under no circumstance was the Venetian to be dealt with by the *kadı* nor under any other judge. But if a Venetian had a case against a Turk or any other Muslim, then that case had to go before the *kadı* or the *subaşı* (government official) or another judge and would be judged according to Turkish law.⁸⁷

⁸⁰ Ibid. 35.

⁸¹ Iorga, 'Notes et extraits', 545-6.

⁸² Emmanuel Piloti, *L'Égypte au commencement du quinzième siècle*, 112.

⁸³ *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, ii, doc. 168, p. 311 (15 Sept. 1415).

⁸⁴ Ibid., doc. 174, clause 5, p. 323 (23 Apr. 1422).

⁸⁵ J. Wansborough, 'Venice and Florence in the Mamluk Commercial Privileges', *BSOAS* 28/3 (1965), clause IIII, p. 488, and clause VIII, p. 497.

⁸⁶ *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, ii, doc. 210, pp. 385-6 (12 Feb. 1454).

⁸⁷ Ibid. 385-6. For a discussion of the legal relations between Latin and Turkish merchants see K. Fleet, 'Turkish-Latin Diplomatic Relations in the 14th Century: The Case of the Consul', in

In conclusion, one can tentatively suggest that the Mamluk approach to the Latin merchants resident in Mamluk territories was often harsh, that the consuls were seen as hostages for the behaviour of their nation, and that the sultan could easily turn to violent methods of persuasion when annoyed. The behaviour of the Latin merchants themselves did not help the situation, as they allowed their own rivalries to spill over into violence in Mamluk lands. The aggression of the Hospitallers or the King of Cyprus, for example, in attacking the Mamluk sultanate caused a backlash against Latin merchants. The brief occupation of Alexandria in October 1365 by King Peter of Cyprus resulted in Mamluk retaliation, and Latins in Egypt and Syria were arrested.⁸⁸ The position for Latin merchants in Mamluk territory in the late fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth centuries was thus often precarious, and the political background against which they worked was always volatile.

The Ottoman situation differed from this. Even when the Ottoman state was also suffering a period of political upheaval, the life of the Latin merchants was not apparently so endangered. The level of complaints in Latin sources when dealing with commercial relations with the Mamluks does not appear when such authorities give information on trade with the Ottomans. The answer to why this should be the case must be sought in the fundamental differences between these two states, and lies perhaps in part in the Ottoman pragmatic willingness to incorporate 'foreign' elements within its system and to opt for smooth-running relations rather than conflict within its territories.⁸⁹

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Byzantium and the West in the 1360s: The Kydones Version

Judith Ryder

A motif commonly used in discussion of the relationship between Byzantium and the west is that of polarization. Crudely put, there is a tendency to emphasize the mutual opposition of 'Byzantine' and 'Latin', 'Catholic' and 'Orthodox', 'east' and 'west': to be 'Byzantine' implies 'Orthodoxy' and a rather negative attitude towards the 'west', politically, culturally, and theologically. There is undoubtedly much to be said for this motif. It can explain many elements of Byzantine thought and history. However, if applied without due caution it can also result in distortion. Above all, it fails to do justice to the fact that Byzantine history also contains many examples of attitudes and concrete realities of rather different quality. That this is the case quickly becomes clear once attention is focused on the fine-grained detail and precise contemporary context of any given period of Byzantine history. Detailed examination can draw out many ambiguities in the relationship between Byzantium and the west. The question then becomes not whether alternatives to anti-Latin attitudes existed in Byzantine-western relationships, but what weighting should be given to those alternatives. Does 'polarization' always represent the cultural, political, and theological mainstream, with alternative approaches always anomalous and the preserve of a tiny elite? Or are the supposedly 'anomalous' approaches also a vital part of developments within Byzantine culture, essential to understanding its nature?

In recent years, there have been attempts to add nuance to relations between Byzantines and the west by historians who have explored the socio-economic interests of members of the empire's governing elite. As their research has indicated, and as Jonathan Harris also argues in this volume, during the course

When I originally delivered the paper out of which this chapter grew, I was nearing completion of my doctoral research in the University of Oxford, on the subject of Kydones. Grateful acknowledgement is due to the Arts and Humanities Research Council which funded my research.

of the later Byzantine period, particularly after the mid-fourteenth century, the commercial interests of the empire's aristocracy often inclined them to positive engagement with western rulers, especially the Italian city-states.¹ However, the case for such pro-Latin sentiment has been based principally on the study of the financial interests of that governing elite and scrutiny of archival documents recording commercial arrangements has been a central preoccupation. The result of those inquiries has been an active questioning of the affiliations and attitudes of a tiny group of wealthy aristocrats, but this has left largely untouched the basic assumption that the views of the Byzantine 'mainstream' among the 'common people' and the church remained solidly anti-Latin. These inquiries have also tended to posit an entirely self-interested rationale for any pro-Latin sentiment among the elite. Contemporary theological arguments for cooperation between Byzantium and the west have often been overlooked.

The aim of this chapter is to examine degrees of polarization and nuance in Byzantine–western relations with detailed reference to a very specific case: that of the pro-western approach to be found in the writings of Demetrius Kydones in the 1360s. Kydones, as will be seen through the close examination of both text and context, presents the relationship between east and west in terms of unity rather than disunity, integration rather than polarization.

1. THE BACKGROUND: KYDONES'S POLITICAL ROLE AND INVOLVEMENT WITH JOHN V'S POLICIES

Demetrius Kydones was born in Thessalonica in the 1320s. During the Byzantine civil war of the 1340s² he was connected with John (VI) Kantakouzenos, and when the latter took power in 1347, Kydones launched into a serious political career. In his *History*, Kantakouzenos refers to Kydones as *mesazon tois pragmasi*, as such required to be with the emperor at all times.³ Although the exact role of the *mesazon* is difficult to trace, at this time it was evidently one of great importance: in secondary sources it is often referred to

¹ For the most recent articulations of the commercial interests of the Byzantine aristocracy see T. Kiousopoulou, *Ἡ Βασιλεύς Οἰκονόμος* (Athens, 2005); N. Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins* (Cambridge, 2009).

² For background on the Byzantine civil wars of the 1320s and 1340s, see D. M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453* (Cambridge, 1993, 2nd edn.), 185–208; also G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, tr. J. M. Hussey, repr. of 2nd (English) edn. (New Brunswick, NJ, 1986), 499–533.

³ Παρόντος δὲ καὶ Κυδωνῆ, ὃς ἔνδον βασιλείων διέτριβεν αἰεὶ, οὐ μόνον διὰ τὴν εὐμένειαν, ἣν πολλὴν παρὰ βασιλέως ἐκαρποῦντο, ἀλλ'ὅτι καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι μεσάζων ἀνάγκην εἶχεν αἰεὶ συνεῖναι βασιλεῖ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ'ἡμέραν (John Kantakouzenos, *Ioannis Cantacuzeni Eximperatoris Historiarum Liber IV*, ed. J. Schopen, CSHB, (Bonn, 1832), iii 285, ll. 5–9).

as something akin to 'Prime Minister'.⁴ Shortly after Kantakouzenos's abdication in 1354, Kydones returned to office in the service of John V Palaiologos. His subsequent career was to last through to the 1390s, albeit with fluctuating influence.⁵

Kydones's influence was perhaps at its highest in the 1360s, the period dealt with in this chapter. His letters hint at this: in 1361/2, Kydones evidently was regarded as having considerable influence with John V,⁶ while a letter of 1364 shows him acting as a high-profile intermediary in tense negotiations between John and the papacy.⁷ Where his status is most apparent, however, is in his involvement in John V's journey to Rome in 1369, at which time he was described by Urban V as John's 'imperial chancellor'.⁸

It is Kydones's involvement in John V's journey to Rome that most clearly highlights the core context within which his ideas on the unity of east and west—the subject of this chapter—belong. As John V's 'Prime Minister', or at very least his chief official dealing with diplomacy *vis-à-vis* the west, Kydones played a vital role in John's attempts at rapprochement with the west early in his reign. These attempts have attracted considerable scholarly attention,⁹ and as such will not be given detailed treatment here. However, some pointers at least must be given, to establish the general outline of events.

Negotiations with the papacy and western powers were, of course, by no means unique to John V's reign,¹⁰ but crucial developments from the mid-fourteenth century (the Ottoman advance into Europe, particularly after 1354; the fall-out from the Byzantine civil wars of the 1320s and 1340s) meant that such negotiations took on a more urgent character. On 15 December 1355, near the beginning of his reign, John sent a chrysobull to Innocent VI indicating that he was prepared to make sweeping concessions in the search

⁴ e.g. H.-G. Beck, 'Der byzantinische "Ministerpräsident"', *BZ* 48 (1955), 309–38.

⁵ For biographical detail on Kydones, see Demetrius Kydones, *Briefe*, ed. and tr. F. Tinnefeld (Stuttgart, 1981), i. 4–52; also R.-J. Loenertz, 'Démétrius Cydonès, I: De la naissance à l'année 1373', *OCP* 36 (1970), 47–72; idem, 'Démétrius Cydonès, II: De 1373 à 1375', *OCP* 37 (1971), 5–39.

⁶ Kydones indicates this in a datable letter to George the Philosopher: Demetrios Kydones, *Correspondance*, ed. R.-J. Loenertz (Vatican City, 1956), i. 60, letter 31, ll. 11 ff.

⁷ Letter to Simon Atumanos, summer 1364, no. 93 in Loenertz's numbering. *Ibid.*, i. 125–8.

⁸ A letter of Urban V to John V mentions 'dilectum filium nobilem virum Dimitrium Cydoni militem, imperii tui cancellarium'. For the text of this letter, O. Halecki, *Un Empereur de Byzance à Rome* (London, 1972; repr. of 1930 edn.), 370–1, no. 12. For an introduction to this and other aspects of John V's reign as touched on below, see Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 533–53.

⁹ Most notably in Halecki, *Empereur*, which documents both John's activities and those of his immediate predecessors.

¹⁰ For a sense of the continuity of interest see e.g. J. Gill, 'Eleven Emperors of Byzantium Seek Union with the Church of Rome', in his *Church Union* (London, 1979), no. XIX. For the activities of John V's immediate predecessors: Halecki, *Empereur*, ch. 1.

for a favourable settlement.¹¹ Innocent responded in July 1356,¹² initiating a series of further discussions and embassies, perhaps even joint military activity,¹³ in the late 1350s, but with the impetus apparently lessening at the turn of the decade.¹⁴

Negotiations with the papacy begin to figure again in the extant documentation from 1364.¹⁵ However, from the mid-1360s, John's policies also took on a more tangible form. Even before his journey to Rome in 1369, his concern for finding a concrete solution to Byzantium's pressing problems can be seen in his visit to Louis of Hungary in Buda in 1366.¹⁶ Although negotiations with Hungary failed, a joint Byzantine-Hungarian delegation was in Avignon in the summer of 1366, reporting on proceedings: thus demonstrating the international character and interconnectedness of the negotiations.¹⁷ The crusade of Amadeo of Savoy, John V's cousin, who captured Gallipoli from the Ottomans in 1366, restored it to the Byzantines, and then proceeded to rescue John himself from the Bulgarians (who were preventing the emperor from returning to Constantinople), kept up the momentum.¹⁸ Further negotiations mediated by Amadeo then culminated in John V's historic journey to Italy.

This brief description of core developments of the first two decades of John V's reign should be sufficient to indicate the extent to which John's policies were tied up with involvement with the west and negotiations with Catholic powers. John was preoccupied with trying to establish Byzantine affairs in an international framework, with particular emphasis on negotiations with the papacy. Indications have already been given that Kydones was a key figure in this process. A final point that needs to be established before proceeding to examination of Kydones' presentation of the relationship between Byzantium and the west is the background to Kydones's personal intellectual development.

Kydones is, if anything, better known as an intellectual than for the specifics of his political involvement (which are, in any case, quite difficult to piece together and assess in their detail, clear though it is that he was a prominent and influential figure). His original writings include letters, political speeches,

¹¹ Text in Innocent VI, *Acta Innocentii PP VI (1352–1362) e regestis Vaticanis aliisque fontibus*, ed. A. L. Tautu (Rome, 1961), 151–5, no. 84. For discussion, see Halecki, *Empereur*, esp. ch. 2.

¹² Text in Tautu, *Acta Innocentii*, 155–8, no. 84a.

¹³ According to the *Vita* of Peter Thomas, written by Philippe de Mézières, Peter Thomas led a combined force of Hospitallers, Venetians, Genoese, English, Greeks, and *aliorum Christianorum* against Lampsakos on the Dardanelles, mid-1359. Philippe de Mézières, *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas*, ed. J. Smet (Rome, 1954), 85.

¹⁴ Halecki, *Empereur*, ch. 3.

¹⁵ A letter of Urban V to John V of 16 Oct. 1364 indicates that John had contacted Urban earlier in the year. Text in: P. Lecacheux, *Lettres secrètes et curiales du pape Urbain V se rapportant à la France*, fasc. 2 (Paris, 1906), 211, no. 1305.

¹⁶ Halecki, *Empereur*, ch. 5.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 116 ff.

¹⁸ On Amadeo's activities, see E. L. Cox, *The Green Count of Savoy* (Princeton, 1967). Also Halecki, *Empereur*, chs. 6–7.

theological and philosophical treatises, sermons, a set of pieces loosely known as 'Apologias', and a range of shorter occasional pieces;¹⁹ but he is also particularly noted for another major intellectual project, namely the translation of western theology, principally Aquinas, into Greek.²⁰ This latter strand in Kydones's intellectual development—the interest in western theology—went hand-in-hand with his early political development. While in the service of Kantakouzenos, Kydones started to have close dealings with Latins. According to his own account, it was because he had to deal with Latins in his official capacity that he decided, early in his career, to learn Latin.²¹ His training, at least ostensibly undertaken for practical purposes, introduced him to Latin thought; and so he started to translate what he regarded as highly valuable material—in the first instance, Aquinas's *Summa Contra Gentiles*. Kydones then became increasingly inclined towards Catholic theology: as early as 1357, there is reference to him as a 'convert';²² and in any case, as will be seen, by c.1363 he was writing quite clearly about his personal acceptance of key western theological and ecclesiological assertions.²³ So in the 1360s, the the period here under discussion and apparently the high point of his political career, Kydones had for some years been associated with Latins and had established himself as a promoter of Latin thought in the Greek-speaking world.

2. KYDONES'S PRESENTATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BYZANTIUM AND THE WEST

There is much material in Kydones's writings which has a bearing on the relationship between Byzantium and the west.²⁴ Given Kydones's own

¹⁹ For details of Kydones's writings, as compiled by Tinnefeld, see Demetrios Kydones, *Briefe*, i. 63–7.

²⁰ For an overview of the material tr. by Kydones in the course of his career, see Demetrios Kydones, *Briefe*, i. 68–72.

²¹ This account appears in Kydones's *First Apologia* (Demetrios Kydones, *Apologia I*, in *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV*, ed. G. Mercati (Vatican City, 1931), 360 ff. This piece will be discussed in more detail below.

²² In Philip de Bindo Incontri's *Libellus qualiter Greci recesserunt*, which refers to Kydones as 'conversus ad fidem'. See Th. Kaeppli: 'Deux nouveaux ouvrages de Fr. Philippe Incontri de Péra, OP', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 23 (1953), 164–5.

²³ i.e. in the *First Apologia*. For the Greek ed., see above, n. 21. German tr.: H.-G. Beck, 'Die Apologia des Demetrius Kydones', *Ostkirchliche Studien*, 1 (1952), 208–25, 264–82; Eng. tr.: J. Likoudis, *Ending the Byzantine Greek Schism* (New Rochelle, NY, 1992). For the dating, see Demetrios Kydones, *Briefe*, i. 66. Tinnefeld's dating to c.1363, early in Mercati's proposed range of 1363–7, is convincing, not least because it would explain lack of reference to developments of the mid-1360s, which could have fitted well into Kydones's discourse.

²⁴ A point acknowledged by Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between Ottomans and Latins*, 11–12. Reference is made to Kydones's writings throughout this exposition but without extensive

intellectual pedigree and interests, together with the importance of the western question in Byzantine politics in this period, this is hardly surprising. For example, two of his speeches—the *Oratio pro subsidio Latinorum*²⁵ (which will be discussed at greater length below) and the *Oratio de non reddenda Gallipoli*—are both particularly interested in the political situation facing Byzantium in the 1360s and early 1370s, and as such place great emphasis on the political and cultural relations between Byzantium and the west. On a different level, Kydones's *First Apologia* (which will also be discussed below), seeks to present and justify Kydones's positive approach to western theology, and as such discusses numerous aspects of the theological and ecclesiological relationship between the two sides. More such material can be found in Kydones's letters, his other theological treatises and his 'Apologias', but these three writings particularly stand out. Within the scope of this brief chapter it is clearly not possible to give an account of all such material, particularly given that Kydones touches upon a wide range of issues. Instead, the intention here is simply to highlight two motifs used by Kydones which go to the very heart of how he understands the relationship. These motifs can be referred to in shorthand as 'shared Roman identity' and 'fundamental ecclesiastical unity'.

i. Shared Roman identity

This motif, the simpler of the two, is particularly clearly enunciated in Kydones's *Oratio pro subsidio Latinorum*. This speech was composed in 1366, after Amadeo of Savoy had taken Gallipoli, but before he arrived in Constantinople.²⁶ The question addressed in the speech is simple: should Amadeo's force—and westerners more generally—be welcomed as allies, or not? Kydones's view, predictably, is that they must be welcomed.

As part of his argument, Kydones develops his theme of shared Roman identity, in simple, but effective, terms. When Amadeo's force is first directly referred to, they are introduced as 'Romans': 'But we do have allies—many allies, good allies . . . I mean those Romans who are at present on their way, with their weapons and their courage.'²⁷ That is, Kydones does not describe them as 'barbarians', or 'Latins', or 'Franks', but gives them the same name as his own compatriots. The Byzantines had long been accustomed to call themselves Romans (not, it must be emphasized, 'Byzantines', except with

consideration of his theological and intellectual background or of the very different literary contexts within which his various writings were composed.

²⁵ Demetrios Kydones, 'Oratio pro subsidio Latinorum', PG 154, cols. 961–1008.

²⁶ See previous note. For references to Amadeo of Savoy, see above, esp. n. 18.

²⁷ Σύμμαχοι δ' ἡμῖν εἰσι πολλοὶ καὶ καλοὶ . . . Τοὺς νῦν ἤκοντας Ῥωμαίους φημὶ καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων ὄπλα, καὶ τὴν ἀνδρίαν (Demetrios Kydones, 'Oratio pro subsidio Latinorum', col. 977C).

the limited, literary sense of 'inhabitants of Constantinople'), while often talking about westerners in terms both generic and derogatory.²⁸ Kydones turns this on its head by identifying the Latins as the same thing: both 'Byzantines' and 'Latins' are 'Romans'. He continues, emphasizing this conclusion: 'What closer allies can there be for Romans than Romans themselves? Who are more worthy of trust than those who have the same *patris*?'²⁹ In support of this, Kydones refers to the Roman origins of Constantinople, giving a potted history, to emphasize that both sides have the same origin and history, and share institutions and beliefs.³⁰

In this way, Kydones argues on the basis of very simple, straightforward ideas in favour of the idea that historical connections between westerners and Byzantines also give the two groups a unique and fundamental connection in his own time. Certainly, it can hardly be claimed that this is a staggering piece of insight, nor that it is an idea unique to Kydones:³¹ but, as so often in his case, it is who he was and when, where, and why he wrote these things which makes the content of his writings particularly important.

ii. Fundamental ecclesiastical unity

The second motif to be dealt with here also implies a fundamental connection between Byzantines and Latins, but on an ecclesiological level. Kydones insists that Byzantines and Latins are related because they belong to one church. This idea is found in Kydones's *First Apologia*, written c.1363.³² The *First Apologia* is concerned primarily with theological and ecclesiastical issues, and is expressed in a personal way, with autobiographical details,³³ and much

²⁸ For a discussion of a range of Byzantine attitudes to the west, see D. M. Nicol, 'The Byzantine View of Western Europe', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 8 (1967), 315–39; repr. in his *Byzantium: Its Ecclesiastical History and Relations with the Western World* (London, 1972), no. I. Deno Geanakoplos gives a selection of extracts dealing with east–west relations in his *Byzantium: Church, Society and Civilization Seen through Contemporary Eyes* (Chicago, 1984), at 356–81; some are very specific and show a degree of first-hand knowledge, but others rest upon inherited negative assumptions. For sensitive discussion of Byzantine anti-Latin tracts, many of which are repetitive and formulaic, but apparently reflect widespread assumptions about western culture and practices, see T. M. Kolbaba, *The Byzantine Lists* (Urbana, Ill., and Chicago, 2000).

²⁹ *Τίνας Ῥωμαίοις Ῥωμαίων οἰκειότεροι σύμμαχοι; ἢ τίνας ἀξιοπιστότεροι τῶν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐχόντων πατρίδα;* (Demetrios Kydones, 'Oratio pro subsidio Latinorum', col. 977D).

³⁰ Ibid., cols. 977D–980C.

³¹ Indeed, Kydones's contemporary and arch-enemy, the Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos, works with a similar framework, but draws from it extremely different conclusions: it is the west which has fallen away (specifically from the church) and suffers the consequences. See Nicol, 'The Byzantine View of Western Europe', 324–5.

³² See above, nn. 21 and 23, for references and comment on dating.

³³ These are brought out particularly by F. Kianka, 'The Apology of Demetrios Kydones: A Fourteenth-Century Autobiographical Source', *Byzantine Studies*, 7 (1980), 57–71. However, it

emphasis on Kydones's own opinions—which are quite clearly presented as favourable to the west, to Catholic claims, and to Catholic doctrines, although with some caveats. For example, in the *First Apologia* he does not specifically embrace the western view on the *filioque*,³⁴ but instead concentrates on highlighting the partiality and lack of understanding of Greek commentators³⁵ and arguing that, if correctly understood, both Greek and Latin fathers—the authoritative arbiters—could in fact be seen to be saying the same thing.³⁶ On the question of papal primacy, however, Kydones is unashamedly pro-western. In a passage towards the end of the *First Apologia*, Kydones defends his own position on the basis of an argument for the essential unity of the church. He does this by taking the argument through a number of levels. First, he establishes an order of priorities, in which loyalty to the homeland or *patris* is placed below higher priorities: God, the truth and the soul:

After God, I judge the *patris* to be the most honourable and most holy of all things, and prefer it above all other matters concerning me, as the source and focus (*hestia*) of everything I have, and indeed of myself as well—after, as I have said, the first cause. I would, moreover, prefer to suffer many misfortunes in the *patris* rather than enjoy the greatest of pleasures elsewhere... What is proper to the lesser causes must be adhered to in such a way that the greater be not deprived of their just claims. But God is the greatest thing, and the truth, and after these the soul, created for them. Therefore I hold to what justly pertains to them; but promise in all other respects to be a zealous servant of the *patris*.³⁷

should be noted that the strictly autobiographical sections of the piece are limited, and that it is difficult to know quite how to classify the work in terms of genre. It is perhaps better to limit oneself to describing it as theological discussion set within an autobiographical framework. Essentially, it stands out as an unusual text: but on the other hand, 14th-cent. Byzantium was capable of producing a range of hybrid or non-traditional texts. One might think of Nicholas Kabasilas's writings, specifically his *On the Life in Christ*, tr. C. J. de Catanzaro (New York, 1974), and his *A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, tr. J. Hussey and P. McNulty (London, 1960), neither of which can be set within a clearly established genre or tradition; or of John Kantakouzenos's highly personal approach to historiography, which conflates objective historical format with personal apologetics (see A. Kazhdan, 'L'Histoire de Cantacuzène en tant qu'œuvre littéraire', *B 50* (1980), 279–335, esp. at 284).

³⁴ The question of the procession of the Holy Spirit, arguably the most critical point of theological contention between east and west; the Catholic creed spoke of the procession of the Spirit 'from the Father and the Son', while Orthodoxy regarded the addition of 'and the Son' as inadmissible.

³⁵ See esp. Demetrios Kydones, *Apologia I*, 85, ff.

³⁶ Ibid. 367 ff.

³⁷ Ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν μὲν πατρίδα πάντων τῶν ἄλλων, μετὰ γε τὸν θεόν, τιμιώτατον εἶναι νομίζω καὶ ἁγιώτατον, καὶ τῶν ὅπως οὖν ἐμοὶ προσηκόντων ταύτην ἄγω προτιμωτέραν ὡς ἂν πάντων ἂν ἔχω καὶ αὐτοῦ δὲ ἐμοῦ, μετὰ γε τὴν πρώτην ἀρχήν, ὅπερ ἔφην, ἀρχήν καὶ ἐστίαν. καὶ πολλῶν ἂν δυσχερῶν ἐν αὐτῇ μένων ἥδιον ἀνασχοίμην ἢ παρ' ἄλλοις διατρίβων δεξαίμην τῶν μεγίστων ἡδονῶν ἀπολαύειν... δεῖ γὰρ ταῖς ἐλάττωσι τῶν ἀρχῶν οὕτω τὸ προσηκόν τῇ τῆς μὴ τῶν μειζόνων ὃ δίκαιον ἀφαιρεῖν· μέγιστον δὲ θεὸς καὶ ἀλήθεια, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἢ τούτων ἕνεκα κτισθεῖσα ψυχὴ. τούτοις οὖν ὃ δίκαιον περισώζων, πρόθυμον ἐμαυτὸν εἰς τὰλλα τῇ πατρίδι διάκονον ὑπὸ σκῶνται παρέξειν (Demetrios Kydones, *Apologia I*, 400, ll. 2–7, 9–13).

By saying this Kydones does not, of course, intend to devalue patriotism. His intention is, rather, to emphasize his own loyalty: that he would do *all in his power* for his homeland, *providing* the homeland does not overstep the mark and demand what pertains to God.

The subtext—or, to be more accurate, the leading issue in this section of the *First Apologia*—is clearly that there are people who question Kydones's loyalty: who think that it is not possible to think as he does *and* be a patriotic 'Byzantine'.³⁸ Kydones's response to this gives an interesting slant on the relationship between Byzantines and westerners, an ecclesiastical version of the idea of 'shared Roman identity'. He insists that the 'Byzantines' are not the natural enemies of the 'Latins': on the contrary, both 'Byzantines' and 'Latins' share the same background; they are citizens of the one same city, the church, subject to the same laws and the same rulers:

Indeed, it is not the case that we have always differed in all respects by nature from the Latins, and that we have received the struggle against them, as it were, as an inheritance... and that we must therefore now continue the ancient enmity for ever. On the contrary: both sides have from the beginning been citizens of the church—citizens of one city, as it were, subject to the same laws, obeying the same rulers.³⁹

If things are seen in this way, theological dispute takes on a different character: rather than being a war between declared enemies, it becomes an internal, civil dispute: 'so that the present division is more like some kind of internal dispute, or a rebellion, than a war'.⁴⁰

For Kydones, identifying ecclesiastical dispute as civil conflict means that, whatever the disagreements, there is an underlying agreement, in that both

³⁸ Probably the most prominent of Kydones's enemies was, as already mentioned, the Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos: the two clashed particularly in the late 1360s, when Philotheos excommunicated Kydones's brother, Prochoros, but it is likely that, at least from Philotheos's side, this reflects a long-standing conflict between the ideas and policies represented by the two parties. It is also clear that Kydones was in disagreement with numerous other figures on certain points: e.g., Kydones himself refers to disagreement with both Nil Kabasilas (again in his *First Apologia*: Demetrios Kydones, *Apologia I*, 390 ff.) and with Kantakouzenos (Letter to Kantakouzenos, 1371/2, no. 400 in Loenertz's numbering: Demetrios Kydones, *Correspondance*, ii, 355–6). However, a clear distinction should be made between implacable, determined enmity and disagreement on certain issues. It is difficult to pin down many specific 'implacable enemies' of Kydones, although his writings, particularly his letters, point to the existence of unnamed individuals and groups fundamentally opposed to him. But disagreement with contemporaries, particularly on theological grounds, is witnessed to in Kydones's writings even in cases where in other respects he has a complex and even at times highly positive relationship with the individuals concerned.

³⁹ καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἄνωθεν καὶ τοῖς ὅλοις Λατίνων διηρημένοι φύσει καὶ ὥσπερ τινὰ κληῖρον τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐδεξάμεθα πόλεμον... καὶ δεῖ διὰ τοῦτο μέχρι παντός τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἔχθραν τηρεῖν. τοῦναντίον μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὥσπερ μιᾶς πόλεως ἄμφω τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὄντες πολῖται, καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς νόμοις καὶ ἔθεσι χρώμενοι, καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀρχουσιν ὑπακούοντες (Demetrios Kydones, *Apologia I*, 401, ll. 39–45).

⁴⁰ ὥστε μὴ πολέμῳ φιλονεικίᾳ δέ τιμι μᾶλλον ἢ στάσει τὴν νῦν διαφορὰν ἐοικέναι... (Demetrios Kydones, *Apologia I*, 401, ll. 47–8).

sides at bottom have the interests of the city at heart. Dispute between them is not the dispute of inveterate enemies, but belongs to a different category:

The citizens of a city afflicted in this way do not, surely, consider themselves to be divided and sworn enemies; rather, both sides, looking to the common good and striving to express what is of most use to the city, on the one hand rebuke each other for what they find to rebuke, but they do not hate each other as would those who were by nature enemies.⁴¹

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, Kydones uses this argument specifically as a defence for his own position. Logically, on the basis of this understanding of the relationship between Christians in Byzantium and Christians in the west, there is no reason for his fellow-Byzantines to consider Kydones an enemy because of his pro-western views. He is simply taking the side in the debate which *he* considers to better represent the good of the whole 'city':

So it is not right for anyone to hate me, a citizen of the church and part of the common body, if, when there is discord, I favour those who I think say what is more just and more profitable to the common good, rather than the others, thinking that it would be well for the latter to be persuaded by what I say. But if this does not please them, there is still no just cause for me to be considered an enemy. How could that be, when all I want to do is to advise what seems to me best fitted to the common good?⁴²

iii. Summary

To sum up: in the *Oratio pro subsidio Latinorum*, arguing in favour of alliance with Latins, Kydones emphasizes a concept of shared Roman identity and history. In the *First Apologia*, he defends his own position by placing it within a framework in which 'Latins' and 'Byzantines', despite their disagreements, are all part of the same church.

These ideas are simple in themselves. However, from point of view of the overarching theme of this volume, they are remarkable in that they stand in clear and direct contradiction of the more widely acknowledged framework of polarization. In place of this motif, they apply a basic framework of connection.

⁴¹ πόλεως δὲ οὕτω νοσοῦσης οὐ δῆπου μερίτας καὶ πολεμίους καθαρῶς τῆς πατρίδος ἀλλήλους οἱ πολῖται νομίζουσιν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἂν ἄμφω μὲν πρὸς τὴ κοινῇ συνοίῃσιν ὁρῶντες, καὶ λυσιτελέστερα τῇ πόλει λέγειν ἄμφω φιλοτιμούμενοι μέμφονται ἀλλήλοις ὧν δὴ καὶ μέμφονται, οὐ μὴν ὥσπερ τοὺς φύσει πολεμίους ἀλλήλους μισοῦσιν (Demetrios Kydones, *Apologia I*, 401, ll. 48–52)

⁴² ὥστε καὶ ἐγὼ πολίτην ὄντα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ σώματος μέρος οὐδεὶς ἂν δικαίως μισήσειεν, εἰ στάσεως γενομένης τοὺς ἐτέρους, οὓς δικαιότερα καὶ λυσιτελέστερα τῷ κοινῷ πείθεσθαι λέγειν, τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθαιροίμην οἰόμενος καὶ τούτοις ἰδία συνοίσειν ἂν οἷς λέγω πεισθῶσιν. εἰ δὲ τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀρέσκει, ἐχθρὸς μὲν οὐδ' οὕτως τοῦ κοινοῦ δικαίως ἂν νομισθείην. πῶς γὰρ ὅς γε τὰ δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν κοινῇ πᾶσιν ἀξιώ συμβουλεύειν; (Demetrios Kydones, *Apologia I*, 402, ll. 55–61).

3. IMPLICATIONS

A crucial question which arises from Kydones's arguments is whether his approach should simply be dismissed as an impossibly naïve piece of wishful thinking, or if not—if it has wider implications—how does it fit in with the developments of the period? It might seem, at first glance, that Kydones's ideas of unity of west and east, as presented above, are too far removed from the reality of the actual, rather desperate, situation, to be taken seriously as having had any real impact or influence at the time. However, the impression of detachedness would be a false one. Kydones does not ignore historical and contemporary conditions: rather, he deals with them directly, often arguing them through as part of his discussion.

In the case of the idea of shared 'Roman' identity, for example, this awareness of the contemporary situation is quite clear when the speech *Pro subsidio Latinorum* as a whole is considered. Topics covered in the speech include political tensions between Byzantium and its Orthodox neighbours, Bulgaria and Serbia (on the basis of which Kydones argues that neither can be considered suitable allies for the Byzantines);⁴³ developments involving western intervention, past and present, in the eastern Mediterranean;⁴⁴ and—perhaps most notably in terms of possible charges of naïvety—Byzantine suspicions of western motivation in the current circumstances.⁴⁵ Kydones repeatedly impresses upon his audience that their options are in any case extremely limited: far from ignoring unpalatable realities, he places great stress on the necessity of facing up to them, and making sensible decisions accordingly.

With regard to the idea of Christian unity, awareness of difficult realities—of differences and disagreements—is even built into Kydones's argument in the *First Apologia*. He speaks of the unity of the church in a way that *assumes* dispute, when he represents ecclesiastical dispute in terms of civil war, as discussed above. For Kydones and his contemporaries, this would have been no empty rhetoric: their immediate experience was one of a society torn apart by civil war. In Kydones's thought one can see evidence of awareness of the

⁴³ Demetrios Kydones, 'Oratio pro subsidio Latinorum', cols. 972–6.

⁴⁴ Ibid. cols. 980–5. Together with general references to widespread western activities producing great benefits for the Byzantines, specific events touched upon include the Battle of Antioch on the Maeander in 1211, the crusade of Smyrna (initial attack 1344), the sea-battle off Imbros in 1347, and the Crusade of Alexandria of 1365.

⁴⁵ Ibid., cols. 988–92. Clearly, when Kydones speaks in favourable terms of western activities in the Eastern Mediterranean, there is a certain amount of 'spin' involved: he avoids the issue of western *expansion* into the Eastern Mediterranean, instead concentrating on the efficacy of specific recent activities undertaken by western forces as an established player in the region. However, the section dealing with Byzantine suspicions of western motivation to a large extent fills this gap, making it clear that Kydones was both aware of the issue and able and willing to discuss it, however partially.

danger, futility, and destructiveness of basing actions on a culture of blame and counterblame, presumably an awareness gained not through detached meditation but as a result of bitter experience. Kydones's approach is not naïvely irenic: only through finding a way of cooperating in spite of difference can a society emerging from civil war build a positive future. Acutely aware of this in Byzantine society, Kydones transfers this to the ecclesiastical sphere: he is not expecting agreement, merely asking for perspective on disagreement, placing it within a framework which enables some form of constructive cooperation.

Moving on to the much more difficult question of whether Kydones's ideas had significant influence on his contemporaries, a number of areas need to be explored. First, as with all Byzantine writings, there is the all-important, and so often unanswerable, question of audience. For Kydones's ideas to be read as a significant chapter in Byzantine political and social developments, it is necessary to assert that they were publicly prominent at the time. Without that, Kydones's writings become simply the rather interesting writings of an erudite thinker, but without importance beyond the educated elite—and with restricted impact even within that elite.

The obvious first port of call in any attempt to assess the circulation of Kydones's ideas at the time of composition is the manuscript evidence. Unfortunately, although unsurprisingly, the manuscript evidence does not take us very far. With regard to Kydones's speeches, the earliest known manuscripts have been dated to the 1390s,⁴⁶ and even they have no autograph elements; the other known manuscripts are rather later.⁴⁷ Thus the earliest extant manuscripts belong within a context existing a quarter of a century later than the circumstances in which the original was composed. While clearly the known manuscripts must derive from an earlier version, and scope exists for there to have been further intermediary copies, the manuscript evidence provides nothing to cover this gap. With regard to the *First Apologia*, the manuscript evidence is rather different: the *First Apologia* exists in autograph,⁴⁸ but this is the only known copy; there are no further manuscripts to support the idea that it may have been copied and circulated. So the manuscript evidence does not necessarily help us with the argument that Kydones's ideas, at least those presented in this chapter, were widely circulated.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Laur. 59, 24 and Vat. gr. 486.

⁴⁷ Coislin. gr. 315 is a 17th cent. copy of the 15th cent. Paris. gr. 1213. Burney. 75 is also 15th cent.

⁴⁸ Vat. gr. 1102.

⁴⁹ It should be noted that this is a far from unusual situation in Byzantine history: it would be the exception, rather than the rule, for manuscript evidence to be copious (except for certain genres of text, such as theological material popular in monasteries) or to provide comprehensive information regarding the conditions surrounding composition and circulation of a particular text. But it nevertheless must be acknowledged that the manuscript evidence in this case does not provide many positive indications.

That said, a case *can* be made for suggesting that Kydones's ideas were probably fairly widely known. This can be done by drawing on a range of evidence relating to circulation of writings and public or semi-public expression of ideas in the period, which indicates that arenas *did* exist for Kydones to publicize his ideas, and that he probably made use of them.⁵⁰ On a basic level, Kydones's letters indicate a range of levels at which information could circulate: through letters themselves, which communicated not just to their addressees, but potentially also to an extended audience surrounding the addressee;⁵¹ through letters falling into the wrong hands;⁵² through the exchange and copying of manuscripts.⁵³ This provides one potential forum for circulation of Kydones's ideas. However, further factors can be added to this: Kydones's political role, the nature of political processes in the period, and the contents of Kydones's writings themselves, together suggest that his core ideas were probably fairly well known. With regard to his political role, given Kydones' prominence, it is likely that any comments he made, spoken or in writing, on controversial issues, would have attracted attention. With regard to political processes at the time, there are indications that scope *did* exist for both speech-making and public discussion of important issues,⁵⁴ and that Kydones himself took part in such processes.⁵⁵ With regard to the contents of Kydones's writings, moreover, two points can be made. On the one hand, he states at times that he has been far from reticent about his opinions, instead

⁵⁰ For further discussion of these questions, with additional supporting evidence, see J. Ryder, *The Career and Writings of Demetrios Kydones* (Leiden, 2010), ch. 4.

⁵¹ This would not apply in all cases, but there are specific references to the idea of a *θέατρον* in some of Kydones's letters (see references in Loenertz's index to Kydones's letters: Demetrios Kydones, *Correspondance*, ii. 480), as well as less specific references to the reading of letters before extended audiences.

⁵² Not such a common motif, but found in some of Kydones's letters: e.g. (following Loenertz's numbering) nos. 31, 43, 93, 103 (respectively, Demetrios Kydones, *Correspondance*, i. 62, 77–8, 125, 139).

⁵³ Exchange of manuscripts is referred to frequently in accompanying letters. E.g. (from Kydones' letters, again following Loenertz's numbering) nos. 1, 25, 79, 213, 256, 287, 328, 343, 346, 384, 400 (respectively, Demetrios Kydones, *Correspondance*, i. 24, 54–5, 112; ii. 92, 161, 208, 258–9, 281, 289–90, 334–5, 356). With regard to copying of manuscripts, most famously Kydones states that Kantakouzenos himself had copies made and encouraged further copying of Kydones's translation of Aquinas's *Summa Contra Gentiles* (Demetrios Kydones, *Apologia I*, 363, ll. 20–27), while references can be found elsewhere to copying of further materials (e.g. letters 263, 384, 437, respectively Demetrios Kydones, *Correspondance*, ii. 171–2, 334, 397).

⁵⁴ This is difficult to analyse: the question of whether literary references to speechmaking and assemblies correspond to reality or whether they reflect literary convention is a notoriously tricky one. However, historiography and other literature of the period seem to assume a situation in which speeches were a regular feature in political developments, while more specifically, one of Kydones's own letters (114 (?1372/3): Demetrios Kydones, *Correspondance*, i. 152–3) speaks of the existence of popular forums for speech-making.

⁵⁵ Again, letter 114, where Kydones refers to previous occasions when he himself spoke before the *synedrion* (Demetrios Kydones, *Correspondance*, i. 152–3, ll. 33–6).

making a point of being willing to present and defend them in public,⁵⁶ and indeed the very nature of his many of his writings (letters, speeches, and apologiae) implies a wish to communicate ideas. And on the other hand, the simplicity of many of Kydones's core ideas is such that they could have translated easily into public expression rather than being confined to literary expression and circulation: nothing, for example, need have prevented the motifs highlighted in this chapter from being widely circulated, irrespective of the literary abilities or education of the audience. Kydones's ideas need not necessarily have been widely known in their entirety in their present form for his core ideas to have been widely known to his contemporaries.

All these factors, taken together, suggest that it is highly probable that *some* of Kydones's ideas *were* widely known. On the assumption that this is the case, the question of how the public might have responded to Kydones's ideas—whether they carried any conviction—can be constructively approached from two different angles.

In the first place, it is important to consider what type of response Kydones may have been hoping for from different parts of his audience. What was he asking them to accept, and how was this expressed? This, clearly, would have had an impact on his level of public acceptability and credibility. Although Kydones clearly did opt in some cases for an uncompromisingly pro-western intellectual stance, there are, nonetheless, aspects of his presentation that are conciliatory towards Byzantine sensibilities, and leave room for opposing views, in a way that might have softened considerably what he had to say.

On the one hand, there is a very Byzantine Greek slant to how he expresses his arguments. He identifies with his compatriots and places great stress on loyalty, as has been seen. His knowledge of Latin is placed in this context: he describes his decision to learn Latin—and translate Aquinas—as imperially sanctioned, arising from his official duties.⁵⁷ It is even possible to suggest, especially given Kydones's emphasis on the *patris* described above, that the purpose of the *First Apologia* is not so much to argue in favour of Kydones's theological ideas as to demonstrate that they are at least compatible with being a loyal Byzantine. On theological questions, he speaks almost exclusively in the first person plural when referring to the Greek Christian tradition, thus placing himself firmly within it. He stresses that his opinions do not involve 'rejecting' Greek Christianity.⁵⁸ Rather, his ideas are expressed in terms of

⁵⁶ e.g. Demetrios Kydones, *Apologia I*, 364, 45–6.; Demetrios Kydones, *Apologia II*, in *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV*, ed. G. Mercati (Vatican City, 1931), 405, ll. 71–6.

⁵⁷ As mentioned above, according to Kydones, Kantakouzenos himself encouraged the translation of the *Summa Contra Gentiles* and had copies made. See above, n. 53.

⁵⁸ οὐδὲ φανερώς εἶπον τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν λεγομένων ἀφεκτέον εἶναι, δεῖν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν παλαιὰν Ῥώμην τρέχειν τοὺς ἀλήθειαν εἰσομένους, ὥς ἂν τις τῆς νέας ταύτης καὶ ἡμετέρας παντελῶς καταγνοῦς (Demetrios Kydones, *Apologia I*, 402, ll. 71–4).

identifying what that tradition is (he takes great care, for example, to connect them with traditions of scriptural and patristic authority⁵⁹): the difference is that he extends it to acceptance of the western Church. This emphasis on Byzantine identity and loyalty provides at least potential for common ground between Kydones and his Byzantine audience, even his ideological opponents.

On the other hand, the way in which Kydones's idea of the connection between east and west takes into account the reality of differences and disagreements suggests that Kydones was in any case for the most part only aiming low in his expectations. What he seems to be urging, in the case of the church, is not agreement, but peaceful coexistence despite disagreement. He does indeed express his own opinions clearly, with the avowed hope that some of his audience will come to share them.⁶⁰ But he does not expect most of them to: he hopes only that they will accept the motif of shared *patris*, with the consequences this has regarding respect for the genuine convictions of opponents (both Latin and Byzantine, since on this model all are part of the same framework) and willingness to coexist and even cooperate. For Kydones's Byzantine audience to accept *this* basic idea does not require them to accept his specific political and theological stance, merely to accept a basic framework which unites Latins and Byzantines more than it divides them. Not a huge step to take for the moderates in Byzantine society.

Moreover, there is a level at which this line of argument could even resonate with hardliners of the Orthodox ecclesiastical world. In itself, the principle or ideal of ecclesiastical unity does not require doctrinal agreement: even the most determinedly Orthodox should be able to accept it in terms of historical origins and potential for restoration. The disagreement would be about the status of the contemporary Catholic Church, then as now. Kydones regarded the Catholic Church as part of the Orthodox body; his opponents emphatically did not. But these differences did not preclude sharing in principle an *ideal* of ecclesiastical unity. In the *First Apologia*, it is interesting that the idea of the unity of the Church appears in Kydones's argument not as the *conclusion*, but as part of the development of the argument: it is used to show that Kydones should not be considered an enemy, *because* the nature of the church gives a framework which allows for disagreement without implying inveterate enmity. This implies that Kydones thought his opponents would at some level respond to the principle of unity.

Thus there are aspects of Kydones's presentation which seem designed both to soften his forthright opinions and to enable ideological contact with his

⁵⁹ For cases in which he sets out his adherence to traditional authorities, see e.g.: Demetrios Kydones, *Apologia I*, 384, ll. 84–7; 398, ll. 29–44; also Demetrios Kydones, *Apologia III*, in *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV*, ed. G. Mercati (Vatican City, 1931), 426, ll. 27–49.

⁶⁰ Demetrios Kydones, *Apologia I*, 359, ll. 1–7.

opponents. It is quite possible that this kind of approach was characteristic of his general conduct and mode of expression in public life. This is, of course, largely unquantifiable, and must be based on a subjective reaction to the overall picture presented by Kydones's writings; but there are certainly instances which suggest that he felt the necessity both of discretion and of the value of fostering good personal relations in spite of differences.⁶¹ On this basis, the idea of Kydones as a charismatic figure, able to gain a wide hearing and exercise considerable influence, carries some persuasion. This is not, I reiterate, to say that all his opinions would have been widely accepted, but simply that some may have been accorded a fair hearing and thus become a significant part of contemporary debate—quite conceivably shifting the central focus of that debate at least a little way in the process.

The second angle from which the question of public response to Kydones's ideas can be approached has to do with conditions on the ground at the time. Local circumstances were such as to urge consideration of how to deal with Latins on a daily basis, while external pressures made a re-evaluation of the relationship with the west an urgent necessity. That is, Byzantines, individually and collectively, *had* to respond somehow to the challenges of rapid political change, because they were continually confronted by them.

In terms of the internal situation, it is simply a matter of fact that Byzantines and Latins were closely connected: as made clear repeatedly in this volume, the Latin presence had long been integral to the Eastern Mediterranean; Latins were central to mercantile and military activities in the region; Byzantine affairs were inevitably part of a heavily latinized regional system, especially as the territorial expansion of the Ottoman Turks increasingly threatened both Byzantines and Latins. Of course, close proximity does not necessarily lead to positive cooperation and mutual regard: there have been more than enough examples of the opposite. However, it is equally unsound to assume that Byzantines were inevitably ill-disposed towards the west and westerners. One implication of the wealth of research into the close commercial ties between Byzantine politicians and Italian traders in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is that there were always those among the imperial aristocracy and bureaucracy willing to subscribe to a more pro-western position.⁶²

⁶¹ The entire *Second Apologia* e.g., is predicated upon this: Kydones, writing to a friend who disagrees with his ideas, asks his friend to admit at least that Kydones is engaged in a sincere quest for the truth, even if their conclusions are different. With regard to discretion, Kydones on occasion specifically recommends it to his correspondents (e.g. letters 30, 53; respectively, Demetrios Kydones, *Correspondance*, i. 59–60; 86, ll. 8–9), and in his disputes with figures such as Philotheos and Kantakouzenos he seems to have been slow to respond and only to have become outspoken when he felt their actions drove him to it. Clearly, in any dispute there will be a tendency for both parties to try to portray themselves as reacting to aggression rather than initiating it; but a sense certainly does emerge from Kydones's writings that, although prepared to discuss matters openly, he did also prefer to avoid unnecessary confrontation.

⁶² Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between Ottomans and Latins*, 8, 24, 119–48.

Kydones's message was clearly likely to resonate among this audience. The material advantage to be gained from positive practical cooperation with Latins could often have made an ideologically positive explanation of the Latins' role more useful than a negative one. However, the extent to which Latins and Byzantines came into contact at different levels on a daily basis beyond the governing class may have created a situation in which there was a need for an explanation of how Latins fitted in, a line of reasoning accessible and acceptable to a wider Byzantine audience and not just at an elite level.

In terms of external pressures, whatever the tensions may have been between east and west in earlier decades, by the 1360s new developments were calling for a re-evaluation of traditional models. No longer were the westerners the primary threat: that—particularly after 1354—quite clearly came from the Ottomans, as they gradually developed their hold in Europe.⁶³ This means that great care must be taken in applying evidence dating to *before* 1354 to conditions later in the century. Changing conditions would have given many Orthodox Byzantines good cause to re-evaluate where they placed the Latins in the grand scheme of things: the Ottomans undoubtedly had more claim to be regarded as diametrically opposed to the Byzantines than the Latins, making the Latins by comparison seem that bit more closely related. The model of east–west connectedness proposed by Kydones could, in these circumstances, have seemed more persuasive than it would have been in earlier decades, replacing as it did 'Catholic' versus 'Orthodox' with 'Christian' versus 'Infidel'.

This latter tendency, moreover, would have been helped along by two further considerations. On the one hand, negatively, Serbian and Bulgarian developments in the fourteenth century prior to the 1360s were scarcely of a nature to indicate that a valid option was reliance on Orthodoxy independent of the west. Both had, in the course of the fourteenth century, been predatory towards Byzantium. Both had spent considerable periods of time in schism with Constantinople. Both had serious problems with political instability. And both were, in any case, increasingly rendered impotent by Ottoman expansion. Notions of pan-Orthodox understanding should be treated very carefully: important though they are, they only go so far, and only at certain times. Certainly in the 1360s they were far from constituting a feasible alternative.⁶⁴

⁶³ Kydones himself highlights the importance of 1354 in regional developments. In his speech 'De non reddenda Callipoli' he places great emphasis on the consequences of the loss of Gallipoli in that year and, crucially, the psychological effect of this on the Byzantines. Demetrius Kydones, 'De non reddenda Callipoli', PG 154, cols.1012D–1013B.

⁶⁴ On the political relations between Byzantium, Bulgaria, and Serbia, see G. C. Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium during the Reign of Tsar Stephen Dušan (1331–55) and his Successors* (Washington, DC, 1984), *passim*; Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, 68–9. The exact details of the ecclesiastical schisms involved are unclear, although in both cases a state of schism seems to have existed at least for most of the 1350s and 1360s. In the case of Serbia, definite

On the other hand, positively, in the 1360s there was not only considerable scope for hoping that the Latins would produce effective military support, but also increasing evidence of it, most dramatically in Amadeo of Savoy's expedition in 1366. So the contemporary weakness and poor historical record of the leading Orthodox nations, combined with apparent potential of the Latins, can be seen as yet more factors potentially leading the Byzantines to re-evaluate their responses to the situation and the various parties involved.

4. CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

This chapter has sought to draw attention to Demetrius Kydones's motif of basic connectedness between Byzantines and Latins. In doing so, it has also highlighted a number of reasons for suggesting that this idea may well have appeared valid, at some level, to many of Kydones's contemporaries in the 1360s. As such, this chapter represents a small contribution to the broader purpose of this volume: namely, the identification of new unities within the myriad disunities in the eastern Mediterranean in this period. Kydones's ideas unquestionably represent an attempt to construct a framework for understanding political and ideological relationships in his contemporary situation, and, moreover, a framework which could provide justification for the practical pro-western policies observable in Byzantine politics at this time. Looked on in this way, they could be seen as something akin to the product of a political 'think-tank': a consideration of current conditions leading to the development of a basis for policies. The question then is whether such ideas were the work of a maverick extremist, known to be such and therefore automatically discredited, or whether they were a directing influence at the time. Or whether they were something between the two: an important aspect of contemporary thought, but only one part of a far greater whole, necessitating very careful weighing-up of the relevance of the different factors involved.

Superficially at least, there is a strong case to make for Kydones as a directing influence—or at least as an important contributor to contemporary thought and policy. His political position would have made him a highly prominent, highly influential figure, and the length of his career and lasting

improvements in the situation came in 1368 and 1375 (in 1368 with the restoration of relations with Serbian territories subject to Uglješa; in 1375 in a settlement reached with Prince Lazar: see Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium*, 93–4). In the case of Bulgaria, full restoration of Constantinople's authority apparently only came in 1379 (see J. Meyendorff, 'Alexis and Roman: A Study in Byzantino-Russian Relations (1352–54)', *Byzantinoslavica*, 28 (1967), 286). For the rise of Ottoman power in the Balkans in the second half of the fourteenth century, see again Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 533–53. These points, with further supporting references, are also discussed at greater length in Ryder, *Career and Writings*.

reputation certainly suggest that this was the case. His evident activities, in so far as they can be traced in any detail, place him at the heart of government. Political developments in the 1350s and 1360s slot in very neatly with his ideas. Moreover, his ideas also appear to offer a constructive response to the changing situation, with much to recommend them to his contemporaries. Circumstantial evidence, therefore, would indicate that Kydones's contribution should be taken as central to the developments of the time.

Where, then, is the difficulty? The problem is the motif of polarization, as described at the beginning of this chapter. It has long been known that there are many indications of a high degree of interaction with western political and cultural influences in this period of Byzantine history. But this interaction is too often assumed to involve a small section of an elite very much disconnected from—indeed, swimming against—the mainstream of 'Byzantine' culture.⁶⁵ That is, it is usually accepted both that the nature of the Byzantine mainstream is clear-cut (that it is 'Orthodox' and 'anti-western') and that 'popular trends' have automatic priority over, and should be divorced from, 'elite trends'. According to this approach, Kydones inevitably becomes both anomalous and insignificant in terms of mainstream Byzantine developments. There are numerous problems with this approach, not least of which is the cavalier attitude to source material which underpins it. Identifying 'popular trends' in a society undergoing great political and social upheaval, for which the evidence is by its very nature primarily 'elite', is something to be undertaken with the utmost care, and with continual reflection on the nature of the evidence and its range of application.

This process of reflection among those studying Late Byzantine history is only in its infancy. General studies of Byzantine history still present polarized models of east-west relations in which particular emphasis is placed on the ubiquity of anti-Latin sentiments at the 'popular', 'mainstream' level in the late empire.⁶⁶ Even more sophisticated recent readings of late medieval Byzantine relations with the west still take overwhelming popular opposition to the Latins as an uncontested given.⁶⁷ Very important advances towards a more nuanced understanding of Byzantine-Latin relations have recently been made by Nevra Necipoğlu's study of political sympathies within Byzantine society during the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. By focusing on

⁶⁵ D. Geanakoplos, *Interaction of the 'Sibling' Byzantine and Western Cultures in the Middle Ages and Italian Renaissance (330–1600)* (New Haven, 1976), esp. at 13–17.

⁶⁶ Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 461–2, 535–6; S. Reinhart, 'Fragmentation (1204–1453)', in C. Mango (ed.), *Oxford History of Byzantium*, (Oxford, 2002), 258, 269 (where John V is said to have 'abased' himself to the papacy in his profession of Catholicism in 1369), 279; A. E. Laiou, 'The Palaiologoi and the World around them (1261–1400)', in J. Shepard (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Byzantium*, (Cambridge, 2008), 829.

⁶⁷ M. Angold, 'Byzantium and the West, 1204–1453', in Angold, *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, V. *Eastern Christianity* (Cambridge, 2006), 53; Kolbaba, *Errors of the Latins*, 163–70.

different social groupings within three different locales (Constantinople, Thessalonica, and the Morea) and demonstrating changes over time, Necipoğlu demonstrates that attitudes to both Latins and Ottomans among Byzantines were highly fluid and contingent, shaped to a large extent by the pragmatic demands of circumstance. Although much of her evidence relates to powerful and well-resourced individuals and groups within Byzantine society, she has drawn attention to the need to look more extensively at those of more humble origins. Nonetheless, despite arguing throughout her study for the need for an appreciation of nuance and fluidity within Latin-Byzantine relations, she still maintains that 'an undercurrent of hostility and alienation continued to color the ideological outlook of the majority of Byzantines towards the Latin world'. This, according to Necipoğlu, was a popular sentiment which had crystallized following the events of 1204.⁶⁸

As far as future research is concerned, this chapter is not intended as an argument in favour of replacing 'polarization' with 'east-west connections' as an exclusive line of inquiry for modern scholarship: that framework is used here only in so far as it appears in Kydones's argument, not as a generally applicable hermeneutic. It is not a question of 'either' polarization 'or' connectedness in new research. 'Either'/'or' is, indeed, rarely helpful in assessing historical developments. Rather, the hope is that elimination of the spectre of polarization will facilitate a more pluralist approach, in which it is recognized that there were many currents at the time, ebbing and flowing and mingling, and that each of them should be taken into consideration. This chapter has sought to illustrate this point, by highlighting how different modes of Kydones's argument may have interacted with a range of political, social, and cultural circumstances, thus enabling his ideas to be placed in different contexts and interpreted at different levels. The analysis presented here certainly cannot claim to have taken into account the many possibilities involved: it has scarcely touched, for example, upon the effects on Byzantine society of the recent civil war, or developments within Orthodoxy itself, issues of central importance for the construction of any 'Orthodox Byzantine' consensus. But even as it stands this chapter indicates that a less polarized, more fluid reading of Kydones's ideas and context can lead to a better understanding of Kydones than 'standard' interpretations would allow for. It also contributes to those arguments advanced most recently by Necipoğlu that we need to look for nuance and plurality in Byzantine attitudes towards westerners. It also suggests that an understanding of ideas as well as an appreciation of self-interest is an important part of that re-evaluation and movement away from unhelpful polarized readings.

⁶⁸ Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between Ottomans and Latins*, 22-4.

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